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Smith Accepts Black Rule in 2 Years

Rhodesian Bows to Pressure

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, Sept. 24 (UPI). — Prime Minister Ian Smith, whose country broke away from Britain 11 years ago and set up a minority white regime, today gave in to a U.S.-led diplomatic drive and accepted a plan under which black majority rule would be established within two years.

Outlining the first of six steps he agreed upon with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Mr. Smith said, "Rhodesia agrees to majority rule within two years."

He said an interim government will be established, international sanctions against Rhodesia lifted and the black guerrilla war ended under the terms of Mr. Kissinger's plan.

In an announcement to the nation carried over radio and television, Mr. Smith made it clear that acceptance of the proposals,

drawn up by Washington and London in close collaboration with black African leaders, was forced on him and that the conditions were not all to his liking.

Success Sought
But he urged his countrymen—6 million blacks, 275,000 whites and 20,000 mulattoes—to work to make the advent of black majority rule a success.

The implementation of the proposals would leave South Africa as the only white-minority-ruled sovereign country in Africa.

Wearing a somber expression, his speech clear and flowing, Mr. Smith delivered the 25-minute address five days after receiving the proposals from Mr. Kissinger in the South African capital of Pretoria.

Mr. Smith said Rhodesia accept-

ed all the proposals with "some minor modifications" that Mr. Kissinger already has indicated he accepts.

Mr. Smith said the proposals stipulated a halt in black guerrilla activity and the lifting of international sanctions against Rhodesia.

He said the two stipulations were to become effective as soon as the "necessary preliminaries" that are to initiate the move toward majority rule have been carried out.

"Dr. Kissinger has given me a categorical assurance to this effect and my acceptance of the proposals is conditional upon the

implementation of both these undertakings," he said, adding that Britain had also undertaken to insure a halt to the guerrilla activity.

He cited two "positive" side-effects resulting from Rhodesia's acceptance of the conditions.

Stimulus to Economy
One was "an injection of development capital which will provide immediate stimulus to the economy."

The other was the planned establishment of an international trust fund to finance a series of major development projects here. "I would be dishonest if I did

not state quite clearly that the proposals which were put to us in Pretoria do not represent what in our view would be the best solution for Rhodesia's problems," Mr. Smith said.

"Regrettably, however, we were not able to make our views prevail, although we were able to achieve some modifications in the proposals."

"The American and British governments, together with the major Western powers, have made up their minds as to the kind of solution they wish to see in Rhodesia and they are determined to bring it about."

Mr. Smith said that, in Pre-

toria, "It was made abundantly clear to me... that, as long as the present circumstances in Rhodesia prevailed, we could expect no help or support of any kind from the free world."

"On the contrary, the pressures on us from the free world would continue to mount."

The reference to "no help or support of any kind" apparently referred to South Africa, which has been for isolated, landlocked Rhodesia a gateway for imports and exports.

South Africa has advocated majority rule here in an attempt to stave off a racial war "too ghastly to contemplate." But South African Prime Minister John Vorster has said that he would not pressure Rhodesia, only make suggestions.

Rhodesian parliamentary

sources said however, that one of the determining factors in Rhodesia's acceptance of the proposals was the fear of losing its economic lifeline.

Regarding the clause concerning cessation of guerrilla activity, Mr. Smith said "We must accept that terrorism cannot be halted at the drop of a hat."

"Indeed, it is likely that there might be an immediate and temporary increase in terrorist activity," he said, warning troops to remain vigilant.

Mr. Smith, quoting Sir Winston Churchill, said, "This is not the end, it is not even the beginning of the end. But it is perhaps, the end of the beginning."

Rhodesian government sources said the first meeting between white and black Rhodesians to organize the interim government could be held as early as next week.

Muted Reaction

In Salisbury, the initial reaction was muted.

Most blacks interviewed by a reporter said they hoped Mr. Smith's acceptance of the proposals would not prompt a white exodus.

"Majority rule wouldn't work without whites," said Wilson.

● Main elements of "Kissinger package." Page 2.

Kuswatsika, 34, a taxi driver. "We would lose all we have without them. They've taught us all we know."

White reaction was mixed. Some persons, such as Alex Glatz, 59, an American who stopped in Rhodesia on a world tour eight years ago and stayed, said: "I won't live under a black government."

Others, such as former parliamentarian Alan Savory, a former Smith supporter who has become an outspoken critic of the Prime Minister, said the acceptance of the plan gave him "great pleasure."

11 Reported Killed

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—Ten black nationalist guerrillas and an alleged African accomplice have been killed by Rhodesian troops in the last 24 hours, a security force communiqué said today. It brings to 40 the number of guerrillas reported killed in the last week.

Moscow Assails Accord

MOSCOW, Sept. 24 (UPI).—The Soviet Union today swiftly attacked the Rhodesian settlement as failing to consider the will of the people.

The Tass news agency said in a dispatch from Maputo, Mozambique, that the United States launched the drive for a settlement to the Rhodesian problem in order to set up a government intended to serve as a buffer zone "between independent Africa and the Republic of South Africa."

The Main Elements Of U.S.-U.K. Plan

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—The main elements of the "Kissinger package" for settlement of the Rhodesian dispute, as spelled out by Prime Minister Ian Smith in his speech of acceptance tonight, are:

● Rhodesia agrees to majority rule within two years.

● Representatives of the Rhodesian government will meet African leaders immediately at a mutually agreed place to organize an interim government to function until majority rule is implemented.

● The interim government should consist of a council of state with an equal number of

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Ford, Carter Meet in a Genteel Debate

Welter of Figures, Data Quoted

By R.W. Apple Jr.

NEW YORK, Sept. 24 (NYT). President Ford and Jimmy Carter met last night in a genteel debate in which a President sought to portray a Democratic opponent as a wildcat and Mr. Carter as a mismanagement and weak leadership. Speaking from the stage of the

Walnut Street Theater in Philadelphia to a national television audience estimated at more than 90 million, the two presidential contenders focused largely on economic issues, which they discussed by citing an often bewildering series of statistics and details.

It was the first of three presidential debates of the 1976 campaign, the first such debate since

the 1960 encounters between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon, and the first involving an incumbent President.

Just as the two nominees neared the end of their responses to questions posed by a panel of three journalists, the sound portion of the television broadcast failed, and the moderator, Edwin Newman, halted the proceedings until it was restored more than 30 minutes later. During the hiatus, Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter stood stonily behind their half-round, waist-high lecterns.

Neither candidate sprang any surprises during the debate, although the President made news by declaring that the congress-

● The text of the Carter-Ford debate is on Page 4.

sional tax reform act "does justify my signature," and Mr. Carter broke new ground by promising that his administration would delay implementing new federal programs if tax revenues did not grow as rapidly as he has predicted they would.

For the first 40 minutes of the debate, Mr. Ford was far more aggressive than Mr. Carter, who seemed tense and a bit tentative at the outset. The President charged that Mr. Carter had increased spending and added employees to the state payroll during his term as governor, attempting to undercut his rival's promises to reorganize the federal bureaucracy.

"I don't believe that Mr. Carter has been any more specific in this case," Mr. Ford said in response to the Georgian's answer to the first question, "than he has in many other instances."

But Mr. Carter counterattacked in the latter part of the encounter, charging the President for "insensitivity" to the "terrible tragedy" of unemployment and denouncing him as a poor leader who "has not accomplished one single major program."

Robert Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, claimed victory for Mr. Carter, and Ron Nessen (Continued on Page 3, Col. 4)

Miss Hearst Is Given 7 Years For Helping in Bank Robbery

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 24 (AP).—Patricia Hearst, the kidnapped heiress who became a bank robber, was sentenced today to seven years in prison, with credit for the year she has already served.

The sentence was handed down by U.S. District Judge William Orrick Jr. after a hearing at which Miss Hearst's attorneys pleaded for leniency and the pro-

secutor described her as unrepentant.

In addition to the seven years imposed for bank robbery, Judge Orrick sentenced her to two years for using a firearm in a felony. But he ordered that the sentences run concurrently.

Judge Orrick said she would be given credit for 371 days of time served since her arrest on Sept. 18 of last year.

Miss Hearst faced potential sentences ranging from parole, or as little time as already served, to a maximum of 35 years in prison. The judge said he hoped Miss Hearst's sentence would serve as a lesson to others that "violence is unacceptable in our society and will not be tolerated."

Harris Plead Not Guilty

BERKELEY, Calif., Sept. 24 (UPI).—Symbionese Liberation Army members William and Emily Harris pleaded not guilty yesterday to the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

The judge set Oct. 7 for a preliminary hearing, ignoring pleas by defense counsel that the hearing be set for next Monday in an effort to frustrate the district attorney's attempt to get an indictment from a grand jury.



After the debate, Jimmy Carter (left) getting a congratulatory kiss from his wife, Rosalynn, while President Gerald Ford chats with a small group.

27-Minute Electronic Failure

Suddenly, the Two Candidates Were Silenced

By Jules Witcover

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 24 (UPI).—Jimmy Carter was in the middle of an answer on abuse of governmental intelligence gathering when the television sound went out. Mr. Carter continued for a few minutes, then Edwin Newman, the moderator, broke the news to the theater audience here that this supposed-ly most heavily watched political TV show in history was as mute as an old Buster Keaton movie.

For the next 27 minutes, the candidates stood helplessly, like two Hollywood stand-ins. They hardly looked at each other but instead matched their patience as they had matched wits for nearly an hour and a half of pressurized-packed interrogation.

The audience, which had been admonished to remain silent throughout the debate, became restive and talkative. But President Ford and Mr. Carter stood stolid and stoic, until finally the former Georgia governor sat down on the high stool behind him. Even then, the President remained standing.

Once, about 22 or 23 minutes into this silence heard around the communications world, Mr. Newman thought he was back on the air.

"I'd like to express my thanks to President Ford and Gov. Carter for their patience," he began, adding—"and I've been told that what I said has not been heard."

That line got one of the few laughs of the night, a night that neither television nor politics is likely to forget soon.

The 27-minute audio gap was traced today to an electrical component about the size of a cigarette filter in the amplifying system, American Broadcasting Co. officials said, AP reported.

[ABC, in charge of the technical operations of televising the debate from the Philadelphia theater, said the breakdown was in "a pool of audio distribution amplifying system" used to send the sound to the other networks. Officials said the component that malfunctioned was a capacitor. Walter Pfister Jr., an ABC vice-president, said the network had been prepared for other contingencies but that there was no backup system to correct the audio failure.]

Last night's debate was billed as a bona fide news event and thus exempt from the Federal Communications Commission's equal-time provision. But as

soon as the networks' sound went out, the debate screamed to a halt.

Had the debate really been simply a news event that the networks chose to cover, it should have gone forward, with or without network sound. This point doubtless is one that will not be overlooked by former Sen. Eugene McCarthy, the independent candidate who has charged the networks and the League of Women Voters, the debate sponsor, with collusion.

It was a bizarre scene in the theater, not only seeing the debate halted but watching the two candidates, and particularly

the President of the United States, so completely immobilized for nearly half an hour.

Neither would leave his lectern and not even the ludicrous aspect of the scene shook the two opponents out of their rigidity toward each other and into any time-killing conversation.

Not until the sound was restored and each candidate had finished his closing statement did the President go over and shake hands with Mr. Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, who had come onto the set immediately after the end to kiss her husband.

The debate ended, after the

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 3)

Kissinger Asks U.K. to Handle Rhodesia Talks

It would call a cease-fire in the guerrilla war.

● Likely convening of a constitutional conference to set up the legal framework for transfer of power.

● Formal granting of independence to a new black-governed Rhodesia by the British Parliament, legally ending 11 years of rebellion against Britain by the former self-governing colony's white-settler regime.

They said U.S., British and South African officials will meet in Washington next week to discuss details of the so-called "insurance fund" designed, as Mr. Kissinger explained, to "compensate those white Rhodesians who decide to emigrate."

Visit to U.S.

British officials said Mr. Crossland will be in New York for about a week from Oct. 3 to attend the UN General Assembly and probably will visit Washington for further talks with Mr. Kissinger.

Both Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Crossland appeared cheerful and confident as they awaited the Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith's announcement that he has accepted their plan for peace in his country.

Asked what would happen if things go wrong, Mr. Kissinger replied "We'll get the blame."

"That's right," Mr. Crossland assented.

Asked what elements contributed to the diplomatic pressure that caused Mr. Smith to accept majority rule, Mr. Kissinger replied with a smile, "My personal charm."

Serious Vein

In a more serious vein he added, "There was the continuation of the war and the assessment of the likely trends by Rhodesia, the participation of South Africa and the commitment of the U.S. government to a peaceful solution."

"What we have done," Mr. Kissinger added, "is to demonstrate the possibility of peaceful solutions in Africa. Any step [taken

now] is not going to be final but we hope the process will contribute to moderation in Africa."

As he left, Mr. Kissinger sent two emissaries to Africa to set up arrangements and explain the negotiating details to African leaders not directly involved.

Assistant Secretary for African Affairs William Schaufele left for Zambia today and will go to Mauritius Sunday. Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs John Rinehart is in Nigeria and will go later to Senegal.

Mr. Kissinger also cautioned the Soviet Union today not to meddle in southern Africa. "We believe that it should be in the interests of all countries to promote peace in southern Africa," Mr. Kissinger said.

"And we would hope that the Soviet Union would not, for the sake of ideology or great-power rivalry, try to introduce an element of contention which must, above all, hurt the peoples of southern Africa and destroy any opportunity for peace."



Patricia Hearst

Out of the Park
Michael Raoul-Duval, who supervised debate preparations for Mr. Ford, reflected the general jubilation in the Ford camp when he exclaimed to his boss after the debate: "Congratula-

Seeks Talks With Moslems

Sarkis Moves Into His Offices, Seeks Beirut Truce Corridor

By Henry Tanner

BEIRUT, Sept. 24 (NYT)—Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, who was sworn in yesterday, started out in office today with a task that few heads of state have to face on their first days in office.

He is trying to arrange things so that Cabinet officers, politicians and perhaps even ordinary citizens can call on him without crossing a military line and being shelled and shot at by snipers.

He moved into the presidential palace at Baabda, a Christian village in the foothills just east of Beirut. His predecessor, Suleiman Franjeh, was driven from the palace late in March by direct hits from Lebanese Moslem artillery. The palace has been hit many times since.

Baabda is easily accessible from Christian-held east Beirut and the Christian littoral to the north. From Moslem-held west Beirut, where all the Moslems and some of the Christian politicians live, it can be reached only by crossing the battle line, where there is continuous shelling and sniping.

Karami Resigns
Premier Rashid Karami, a Moslem, thus was not able to call on the President today to submit his resignation and Mr. Sarkis has not yet been able to hold face-to-face consultations with any of the men he may want to appoint to head his government. The premier will have to be a Moslem, under Lebanon's confessional political system.

Mr. Sarkis thus initiated talks between the Palestinians and Lebanese Army officers on ways

to open a corridor from West Beirut to Baabda. The talks started last night.

Such a corridor is of crucial importance also because it would enable the Christians of east Beirut to drive through Baabda to the Beirut International Airport, which is in Moslem-controlled territory and has been closed since early June after Christian artillery destroyed a plane, killing its pilot.

The Christians closed the airport because they could not use it. If it were opened to both sides, it would have immediate economic and political impact.

Christian Territory
Mr. Franjeh, who stepped down as President yesterday, had not seen a leading Moslem politician since he moved from Baabda to Kfour, a mountain village above Junieh, in solidly Christian territory north of Beirut.

He called Cabinet meetings there although he knew that Premier Karami and other Moslem members could not attend.

Mr. Sarkis and Mr. Franjeh both are Maronite Christians, the presidency being reserved to this denomination. But Mr. Sarkis is a moderate and apparently intent on showing it.

Heavy shelling and firing continued today in Beirut and the mountainside in spite of the unilateral cease-fire declared last night by Yasser Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Mr. Arafat announced in a letter to Mr. Sarkis that he had ordered Palestinian forces to cease firing as a "gift to the new President."

25 Are Named by India in Plot To Overthrow Mrs. Gandhi

NEW DELHI, Sept. 24 (AP)—India's Central Bureau of Investigation today charged 25 persons, including a prominent Socialist trade-union leader, with conspiring to overthrow Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government.

The charges, which carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment, were the first of the kind to be filed since Mrs. Gandhi's government proclaimed a national emergency 15 months ago.

The CBI filed the charges before a Delhi magistrate, who ordered all the accused to be produced in court on Oct. 4 for a hearing.

At that time, they will receive a copy of the detailed charge sheet, or indictment, and a record of the evidence.

Irish President Signs Stiffer Law Aimed at the IRA

DUBLIN, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—The Irish President today signed a new law imposing tougher penalties for membership in the Irish Republican Army, but he asked the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of a second controversial anti-guerrilla measure.

President Cearbhall O Dalaigh said he was referring the government's emergency powers bill to the Supreme Court for a decision on whether any of its provisions are "repugnant" to the Constitution.

The emergency powers bill would enable police to hold guerrilla suspects for seven days without charge and would suspend the normal constitutional right of habeas corpus—the ancient requirement that a prisoner be brought before a court.

The President signed into law the government's criminal law bill, which increases the maximum penalty for IRA membership from 2 years to 7. It also raises from 1 year to 20 the penalty for obstructing the government in carrying out its duties.

of the evidence gathered by the prosecution, an official said. No trial will be permitted, he added.

The main defendant is George Fernandez, chairman of the Socialist party and until recently head of the country's main railroad workers' union. He was arrested in June after remaining underground since the emergency began 12 months earlier.

Another prominent person named in the charge sheet was C.G.K. Reddy, a senior management consultant to the Hindu, a leading English-language newspaper published in Madras. Mr. Reddy is widely known abroad because of his past work for the Press Foundation of Asia.

Others indicted included an industrialist from central Gujarat State, two journalists based in Gujarat, and other supporters of Mr. Fernandez, who became the most prominent underground leader following proclamation of the emergency.

According to a government press release, Mr. Fernandez was the chief conspirator of a plot to use explosives for blowing up bridges and vital rail and road links and to create widespread chaos with the ultimate object of overthrowing the government.

The charge sheet said that a series of explosions took place late last year in three states, Bihar, Maharashtra and Karnataka, as a result of the conspiracy.

While there were no injuries or loss of life, various installations, including the Bombay central railroad station, were damaged, according to the indictment.

The government press statement said that Mr. Fernandez was also alleged to have sought the help of foreign countries and foreign organizations "for the purpose of setting up a powerful radio broadcasting station abroad. The charge sheet did not specify the foreign countries, although it said that Mr. Fernandez had written letters seeking support from the Socialist International and asking friends to urge the European Economic Community and the World Bank to adopt stands against Mrs. Gandhi.



AUTUMN RITE—Plows in Russia's Urals preparing for next year's wheat crop.

Rightist Groups Plan to Unite

Spanish Leftist Parties Seek To Settle Policy Divisions

MADRID, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Opposition leftist politicians held a series of meetings today to try to patch up rifts that have developed over the government's plans for free elections for a Western-type parliament next year.

On the Francoist right, meanwhile, the leaders of the four main conservative groups reached agreement to form an election alliance.

The intensified political activity was sparked by recent moves of the government designed to show that it was serious about bringing democracy to Spain and was trying to speed up the process.

The unravelling two weeks ago of Premier Adolfo Suarez's plans for a new parliament was followed Wednesday by the appointment of a politically neutral general, Manuel Gutierrez Mellado, to the key post of first vice-premier and defense minister. He replaced a conservative general opposed to some of Mr. Suarez's reforms.

Opposition leftist activities centered on a document drawn up by one of Spain's leading experts on constitutional law, Prof. Carlos Otero.

Basic Leftist Program
The document was intended to unify the opposition under a basic program for change and to eliminate the deep disagreements over the Suarez plan. The document was reported to contain a partial acceptance of the Suarez proposals, tied to suggestions for a different approach on other points.

Leftist groups have rejected Mr. Suarez's step-by-step approach and demand a radical break with the Franco past. The document has been submitted to all opposition groups—the left-center parties that form Democratic Coordination, the biggest opposition front, as well as the middle-of-the-road groups outside it.

Final negotiations on the document followed reports of a deepening rift inside Democratic Coordination between Communists and their allies on one side, and Socialists and Christian Democrats on the other.

Political sources said the rift reflected not only differences of opinion on the government proposal, but also the growing dominance of Communists inside the alliance. Yesterday the representatives of the Socialist Workers' party (FSOE), Spain's mainstream Socialist group, walked out of a meeting of Democratic Coordination after the alliance picked a Communist and a pro-Communist as its delegates to a forthcoming meeting with regional groups. A Socialist spokesman said, however, that

the party did not intend to quit the alliance.

On the right, four former ministers of the late Generalissimo Francisco Franco agreed to link their respective political parties in a conservative election alliance, political sources said.

The four are Manuel Fraga Iribarne of the Democratic Reform party, Cruz Martinez Ruelas of the Union of the Spanish People, Federico Silva Munoz of the Spanish Democratic Union and Gonzalo Fernandez de la Mera of the National Spanish Union.

Garbage Joins

Rights of Man In France

SAINT-DIE, France, Sept. 24 (AP)—Municipal authorities here have no right to tell residents what type of garbage they must use because it violates the principle of freedom, a court in this eastern France city ruled today as it ordered charges dropped against 21 violators.

Residents of the nearby city of Gérardmer had refused to buy a special type of garbage bag prescribed and sold by the city.

Seni, After Quitting, Agrees To Return as Thai Premier

BANGKOK, Sept. 24 (AP)—Seni Pramoi, who resigned yesterday as premier under pressure of criticism for his handling of the return of an exiled military strongman, said today he would return to the premiership and form a new coalition government within a week.

Mr. Seni said after an urgent Cabinet meeting: "My new government will follow the same policies, both in domestic and foreign affairs, as had been conducted in the past months."

A government spokesman said

the Cabinet unanimously agreed that Mr. Seni should return as premier. Mr. Seni said there would be no change in the four-party coalition that came to power almost five months ago.

Mr. Seni submitted his resignation to King Bhumibol Adulyadej after being criticized by leftist and rightist groups and some members of his own Democratic party for his not taking a tough stand on the return from exile of former Premier Thanom Kittakachorn, who was deposed in 1973 after a student-led uprising.

Not Discussed
Mr. Thanom, 66, entered Thailand last Sunday to become a monk and see his ailing, 91-year-old father. Mr. Seni said today that the fate of Mr. Thanom was not discussed at the Cabinet meeting. "But while running a caretaker government I will continue to solve the issue of Thanom's presence in Thailand," he said.

Mr. Thanom is residing in a Bangkok temple and has made no comments on the current government crisis. "You know I cannot talk politics," Mr. Thanom said to a newsmen.

University students are expected to continue protesting the presence of Mr. Thanom in the country and an alleged conspiracy on the part of some military men to support his return. Students and labor leaders have accused him of involvement in the deaths of 73 civilians in the October, 1973, uprising, and have demanded that he be tried or deported.

A military alert remained in force throughout Thailand today to prevent violence.

Iran May Buy More U.S. Jets

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Sen. Hubert Humphrey disclosed today that Iran is considering buying 250 F-16 jet fighters from the United States in addition to \$3.8 billion worth of F-16 fighters.

Sen. Humphrey, D-Minn., made the disclosure before an open session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which began consideration of a parliamentary move to kill \$1 billion worth of arms sales to 14 countries, including Iran, Saudi Arabia and several NATO allies.

Sen. Humphrey quoted from a Sept. 12 letter from Gen. Hassan Toufanian, the Iranian vice-minister of war and armaments, to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in which he indicated that Iran may want to supplement its purchase of 100 F-16 fighters by acquiring land-based versions of the U.S. Navy's F-16 fighter.

Moscow Appears to Harbor Fears of U.S. Africa Success

By David K. Shipler

MOSCOW, Sept. 24 (NYT)—The Soviet Union is showing considerable uneasiness over Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in southern Africa, evidently concerned that the U.S. initiative may undermine Moscow's long investment in building influence with the black nationalist groups that are expected to come to power.

Foreign analysts here see the Soviet anxieties revealed in a series of unusually strident press commentaries, plus the private remarks of Soviet officials, in which uncomfortable parallels are being drawn between Mr. Kissinger's current African mission and his effort last year in the Middle East. There, an Arab-Israeli settlement was achieved without Soviet participation, leaving Moscow's role and stature among the Arab nations sharply reduced.

The Kissinger mission confronts such large obstacles, however, that some Western diplomats think the Russians are worrying unnecessarily. Mr. Kissinger, who has met with both black and white heads of state in the region, including the two leaders of white minority governments, Prime Ministers Ian Smith of Rhodesia and John Vorster of South Africa, is trying to act as a catalyst for a peaceful transition to black majority rule.

It seems to me the chances of success are so slight that they needn't get so worked up, U.S. diplomats said. Even with indications that Rhodesia will accept a timetable for black accession to power, the Russians may be able to nurture militant views among black leaders that would reject or subvert any accommodation, some analysts believe.

Picking the Winners
There is disagreement here on the extent to which the Kremlin's influence in southern Africa would permit the Soviet Union to play the role of spoiler but there is little doubt about its desire to do so. To some extent, Moscow has competed against the United States for power in the Third World simply by picking the winning sides in domestic struggles and riding the crest of the wave of anti-colonialism. The strategy's most vivid success was in Vietnam.

In Africa, Moscow has long been out ahead of Washington in actively supporting black rule. Until the sudden reshaping of U.S. policy and the application of Mr. Kissinger's personal diplomacy to southern Africa, Moscow found it easy to identify the United States with the maintenance of white supremacy. Now, the shrillness with which the Soviet press continues to take this line, even while Mr. Kissinger is trying to get the whites to step down, suggests the Moscow sees a serious threat to the strategy of polarization in which the Russians back the winners and the Americans the losers.

Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, characterized the Kissinger mission last week as part of "a dangerous plot between imperialists and racists." To preserve the white regime in South Africa, the paper said, the U.S. strategy was designed to "persuade the South African Republic racists to go in for insignificant reforms, put the gloss of liberalism on the facade

Crash Victims

Found in Jungle

MANILA, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—Six foreign diplomats and officials whose light plane disappeared Sept. 12 were today found dead amid its wreckage in jungle east of here.

The victims were: the Philippines head of the U.S. Agency for International Development, Garnett Zimmerly; the minister counselor of the West German Embassy, Gerhard Koenig; the minister counselor of the Japanese Embassy, Toshitake Katsuyama, and the U.S. counselor for economic affairs, Edward Cheney. Also with them were the alternate U.S. director of the Manila-based Asian Development Bank, Henry Lee, and a bank project manager, Akira Mizuno, from Japan.

He gave no details of the accident, except to say that it happened as he was on his way home from his office last night, and that a spent bullet had hit him in a leg, and that it had been recovered by doctors.

One of his colleagues was slightly injured and was being treated in a hospital, Maj. Mengistu said.

The attack is understood to have taken place near the huge Revolution Square parade ground in the center of the capital, where 21 days ago Maj. Mengistu and his colleagues on the ruling military "Dergue" celebrated the second anniversary of their overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, a fact that Maj. Mengistu is first vice-chairman of the group and its chief spokesman.

Residents in the area heard several long bursts of machine gun fire and at least one loud explosion.

Functions of Council
The functions of the council of state will include legislation, general supervisory responsibilities and supervising the drafting of the constitution.

The interim government will also have a council of ministers with a majority of Africans and an African first minister. The ministers of defense and of law and order will be white.

Decisions will be made by a two-thirds majority and its functions will include legislative authority delegated by the council of state and executive responsibility.

Britain, still recognized by the world as the colonial authority for Rhodesia, will enact enabling legislation for the transition to majority rule. Rhodesia will also enact any necessary legislation.

International sanctions against Rhodesia will be lifted and all acts of war—including guerrilla warfare—will cease when the interim government is established.

The international community will make available substantial economic support. A trust fund established outside Rhodesia will organize the financing of a major reconstruction program.

While saying that the oral vaccine should remain available for no limited purposes, they urged a return to inoculation with killed-virus vaccine, which lowered the U.S. incidence of polio by 95 per cent between the early 1950s and 1961.

In 1961, at the urging of the American Medical Association and others, the oral live-virus vaccine began to displace the inactivated vaccine.

Dr. Jonas Salk, discoverer of the killed-virus vaccine, testified that the live-virus vaccine, though used by Dr. Albert Sabin, was "the principal if not the sole cause" of the 140 polio cases reported in the United States since 1961.

"At the present time, the risk of acquiring polio from the live-virus vaccine is greater than from naturally occurring viruses," he told the Senate Health Committee.

Norwegian Ship Safe Off France Following Storm
PALMOUTH, England, Sept. 24 (AP).—After being stripped of much of its 15,000 square feet of hull by hurricane-force winds, the Norwegian training ship Christian Radich was hove to today off the Bay of Biscay with 103 persons aboard.

The Christian Radich, 205 feet long and 678 tons, was returning to Europe after taking part in the Tall Ships Race in honor of the American Bicentennial.

It sailed into the storm about 350 miles west of the French port of Brest yesterday.

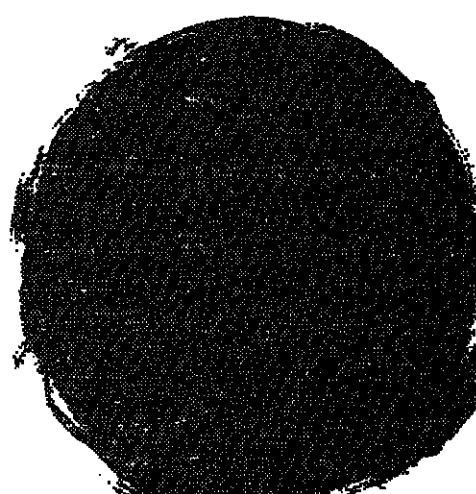
The Norwegian tanker Cape Brorvig went to the stricken vessel's aid and, with another ship, helped to bring the Christian Radich to safety. During the night they were joined by a French naval vessel, Le Savoyard.

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Israel Nurse Strike Ends
TEL AVIV, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—A 10-day strike of Israel's 18,000 nurses ended today with an agreement granting them higher wages and improved working conditions.

India Flood Toll Rises
NEW DELHI, Sept. 24 (Reuters).—At least 228 persons have died in floods in the state of Uttar Pradesh, according to reports reaching the state capital of Lucknow. More than 20,000 villages with a total population of 9 million have been affected.

Microphone Was 'Live'

Rockefeller, Albert Caught Unguarded Talk on Liberia

By Richard D. Lyons

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Vice-President Rockefeller and House Speaker Carl Albert were overheard yesterday in an unguarded conversation about the only black senator.

Remarks were transmitted by an open microphone on speaker's dais shortly before President of Liberia, William Tubman, addressed a joint session of Congress.

During the 24-minute speech, Tubman, the first Liberian president to have ever addressed Congress, asked the members to black Africans "to fight to their God-given dignity."

The Washington diplomatic press was filing into the House chamber, Mr. Rockefeller and Albert, D-Okla., as the chief of the two houses of Congress, were sitting together waiting to receive Mr. Tubman, had yet to enter the chamber.

Staff aides explained that a microphone on the speaker's dais had inadvertently left open. The dialogue between the two men then was fed to the radio-television gallery, as it was recorded. The transcript follows:

Albert: "Are there many more of these mulattoes?"

Rockefeller: "Most are black."

Ruman Confers

th Yugoslav Aides

BRIGADE, Sept. 24 (UPI)—U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman met with two high-ranking Yugoslav officials today, apparently on a fact-finding mission for Democratic Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter. But he was unable to see President Tito, who canceled the scheduled meeting because of ill health. Doctors have ordered complete rest through the month because of a liver ailment.

Obituaries

Ex-Sen. Paul H. Douglas, 84, Represented Illinois 18 Years

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Paul H. Douglas, 84, former Democratic senator from Illinois, died at his home here today.

Sen. Douglas, who served in the Senate from 1948 to 1968, was defeated by Sen. Charles Percy, a Republican, in the 1968 election. He was an untiring leader for civil rights and labor reform.

A former professor of economics at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, Sen. Douglas also considered one of the nation's most knowledgeable leaders in monetary and fiscal matters.

Some of the ideas he developed at the University of Chicago and which were then considered revolutionary, such as unemployment compensation, eventually became law.

His farewell address followed his defeat. Sen. Douglas said on his listeners to "purge ourselves of any trace of bitterness or divisiveness. Let us start over, for no one of us is perfect of free from fault."

He also said that he left public life "with no regrets" and that he would not "change a vote position."

Sen. Douglas had been in failing health for some time, suffering three strokes in recent years.

James Warner Bellah

OS ANGELES, Sept. 24 (UPI)—James Warner Bellah, 77, novelist, short-story writer and author of Western movie scenarios, died today of a heart attack.

Mr. Bellah was a prolific writer, specializing in historical, particularly Western subjects, a war correspondent, a prodigious wordsmith, an air pioneer, a veteran

of both world wars and a sportsman.

He wrote 20 novels and historical works, more than 100 short stories, many of which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, and a number of screen plays including "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance" with Willis Goldbeck.

Fictional Sketches

A native of New York City, Mr. Bellah received a BA degree from Columbia University and an MA degree in history from Georgetown University. At Columbia, he won the Alfred A. Knopf Prize for fictional sketches on the life of students there after working on the book for only 19 hours.

In World War I, he was a pilot with the Royal Air Force. For several years after the war he was an advertising writer and instructor in English at Columbia.

In World War II, he served at the headquarters of the Southeast Asia Command and saw combat infantry service in Burma. He left the Army with the rank of colonel, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star and the Air Medal.

Adm. Ivo Purisic

BRIGADE, Sept. 24 (UPI)—Adm. Ivo Purisic, 58, commander of the Yugoslav Adriatic Sea military area, has died after a long illness, Belgrade radio said today.

21 Die in Turkish Crash

ANKARA, Sept. 24 (AP)—A bus and a truck collided in the eastern Turkish province of Malatya, killing 21 persons and injuring 13, the Anatolia news agency reported today.

Notice to Our Readers in Scotland

Between September 26th, when France will return to standard time, and October 24th, when British clocks will similarly be turned back one hour, the International Herald Tribune will be unable to provide same-day service in Scotland.

Beginning with our issue dated October 25th, you will again receive the International Herald Tribune first thing in the morning.



JOINT WELCOME—Liberian President William Tubman waving as he arrives to address a session of Congress. Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller (left) and House Speaker Carl Albert are in background.

Neither Candidate Is Willing To Claim Victory in Debate

(Continued from Page 1)

for the President. Mr. Neessen made the claim to national television audiences during an audio breakdown that interrupted the debate for 27 minutes.

Mr. Carter's supporters were chanting "Who won the debate?" and responding "Jimmy," when the Democratic candidate joined them.

The Major Thing

"I don't particularly care about winning and losing—it's nice about this and I feel good about the debate and look forward to the next one—I think the major thing is to let the people know where our country is and what it can be," Mr. Carter told them.

Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's campaign manager, said, "I thought Jimmy was a little nervous at first and started a little slow but 10 or 15 minutes in I felt he took command of the debate and that he was in command at the time of the power failure."

Mr. Carter's wife, Rosalynn, said, "I was so sorry the power went off, because Jimmy was doing so well. Everything was going for him."

Press Secretary Jody Powell

Fault Mutes Candidates

(Continued from Page 1)

long delay, as tense and guardedly combative as it had begun. The two men stood more than 80 minutes at waist-high lecterns about seven feet apart, seldom looking at each other, and peppered one another with statistics and criticisms of their records.

Mr. Ford, tall, burly in a vest and dark blue suit, gripped the rounded top of his lectern and stared, even at times glared, at his opponent as Mr. Carter gave his answers to the panelists' questions. When Mr. Ford spoke, he was firm and forceful, projecting the image of a reined-in heavyweight slugger.

Mr. Carter, a smaller figure, stood composed when the President spoke, displaying no emotion. When he spoke, more softly and more rapidly than Mr. Ford, he jabbed his hands in emphasis, often out of the cameras' view, giving a darting quality to his delivery—that of a boxer rather than a slugger.

Both men seemed conscious, however, as was the stilled and attentive audience of about 500 guests and press in the theater's balcony, of the climate of verbal combat and the importance of scoring points at every possible turn.

Bear Kills a Woman At Park in Montana

WEST GLACIER, Mont., Sept. 24 (AP)—A bear dragged a young woman from her tent and killed her yesterday in Glacier National Park, officials said. Four other women in the tent were not harmed.

Rangers killed two grizzly bears near the woman's body two hours after the attack.

Basic Speech

Then, in an echo of the basic speech that he has given thousands of times in dozens of states, the Georgian said softly that the nation needed "a government as good as our people."

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Text of Ford-Carter Debate on TV

PHILADELPHIA (AP)—Here is the text of the debate Thursday night between presidential candidates Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.

Newman: Good evening, I'm Edwin Newman, moderator of this first debate of the 1976 campaign between Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, Republican candidate for president, and Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Democratic candidate for president. We thank you, President Ford, and we thank you, Gov. Carter, for being with us tonight.

There are to be three debates between the presidential candidates and one between the vice presidential candidates. All are being arranged by the League of Women Voters Education Fund. Tonight's debate, the first between presidential candidates in 16 years and the first in which an incumbent president has participated, is taking place before an audience in the Walnut Street Theater in Philadelphia just three blocks from Independence Hall. The television audience may reach 160 million in the United States and many millions overseas.

Tonight's debate focuses on domestic issues and economic policy. Questions will be put by Frank Reynolds of ABC News, James Cannon of the Wall Street Journal and Elizabeth Drew of the New Yorker magazine.

Under the agreed rules, the first question will go to Gov. Carter. That was decided by the toss of a coin. He will have up to three minutes to answer. One follow-up question will be permitted with up to two minutes to reply. President Ford will then have two minutes to respond. The next question will go to President Ford, with the same time arrangement, and questions will continue to be alternated between the candidates. Each man will make a three-minute statement at the end. Gov. Carter to go first. President Ford and Gov. Carter do not have any notes or prepared remarks with them this evening.

Mr. Reynolds, your question for Gov. Carter:

Reynolds: Mr. President, Gov. Carter, Governor, in an

interview with the Associated Press last week, you said you believed these debates would alleviate a lot of concerns voters have about you. Well, one of those concerns, not an uncommon one about candidates in any year, is that many voters say they don't really know where you stand. Now you have made jobs your No. 1 priority. And you have said you are committed to a drastic reduction in unemployment. Can you say now, governor, in specific terms, what your first step would be next January, if you are elected, to achieve that?

PHILADELPHIA: achieve that. Carter: Yes. First of all is to recognize the tremendous economic strength of this country, and putting back to work of our people as a top priority. This is an effort that ought to be done primarily by strong leadership in the White House, the inspiration of our people, the tapping of business, agriculture, industry, labor and government at all levels to work on this project. We'll never have an end to the inflationary spiral, and we'll never have a balanced budget, until we get our people back to work. There are several things that are not now being done. First of all, to channel research and development funds into areas that will provide large numbers of jobs. Secondly, we need to have a commitment in the private sector to cooperate with government in matters like housing. Here a very small investment of taxpayers' money in the housing field can bring large numbers of extra jobs and the guarantee of mortgage loans and the putting forward of programs for housing for older people and so forth to cut down the roughly 20 per cent unemployment that now exists in the construction industry.

Another thing is to deal with our needs in the central cities, where the unemployment rate is extremely high. Sometimes among minority groups, or where people don't speak English, or are black, or young people are 40 per cent unemployed. Here a CCC-type program would be appropriate to channel money into the sharing with private sectors and so local and

state governments can employ young people who are now out of work. Another very important aspect of our economy would be to increase production in every way possible, to hold down taxes on individuals and to shift the tax burdens onto those who have avoided taxes in the past. These kinds of specific things, none of which are being done now, would be a big help in reducing unemployment. There's an additional factor that needs to be done and covered very succinctly, and that is to make sure that we have a good relationship between management, business, on the one hand, and labor on the other. In a lot of places where unemployment is very high, we might channel specific targeted job opportunities by paying part of the salary of unemployed people and also sharing with local government the payment of salaries, which would let us cut the unemployment rate much lower before we hit the inflationary level. But I believe that by the end of the first four years of the next term, we could have the unemployment rate down to 3 per cent adult unemployment, which is about 4 to 4½ per cent overall, a controlled inflation rate, and have a balance of growth of about 4 to 6 per cent, over-all, a controlled inflation rate, and have a balance of growth of about 4 to 6 per cent, around 5 per cent, which would give us a balanced budget.

Reynolds: Governor, in the event you are successful and you do achieve a drastic drop in unemployment, that is likely to create additional pressure on prices. How willing are you to consider an incomes policy? In other words, wage and price controls?

Carter: Well, we now have such a low utilization of our productive capacity, about 73 per cent, I think it's about the lowest since the Great Depression years, and such a high unemployment rate now, 7.9 per cent, that we have a long way to go in getting people to work before we have inflationary pressures. And I think it's would be easy to accomplish, to get jobs down without having the strong inflationary pressures that would

national corporations. "The average American pays those taxes for them," he said.

Mr. Carter said, with a tight-lipped smile, that he would remain neutral on the issue of whether the Congress had controlled the Congress for 22 years "and they wrote all the tax bills."

Mr. Carter said his aim was "not to raise taxes, but to eliminate loopholes."

Mr. Ford said that Mr. Carter's answer "does not coincide with the answer he gave to the Associated Press."

As the President described that interview, Mr. Carter had urged an "increase in taxes on about 50 per cent of the working people in this country."

In answering a later question, Mr. Carter asserted that there had been a typographical error in the interview sent out by the AP that omitted the phrase "middle income," and that a corrected version had been sent to the White House. And so, he said, Mr. Ford had "misquoted" him.

The President responded that, with his program of allowing such men to return to the country and perform a period of national civilian service, he had provided war resisters "an opportunity to earn their good record back."

The President said that he was against a "blanket pardon" for all who broke the draft law or fled the armed forces.

Economy. War

As for the pardon of Mr. Nixon, the President said, as he had many times before, that he felt it necessary to devote all his time to dealing with the economy and the war.

Mr. Carter, when it came his turn to reply, smiled slightly and said he could understand how Mr. Ford found it difficult to explain his pardon of Mr. Nixon, while not granting similar relief to those who broke the Selective Service law.

At one point, Mr. Carter, in an apparent slip of the tongue, referred to the President as "Mr. Nixon," and then corrected himself by saying "Mr. Ford."

Mr. Carter reiterated his often stated position of favoring a pardon, not amnesty, for those who broke the draft law.

What could be done to reduce individual taxes?

Mr. Carter noted what he depicted as tax breaks for multi-

be necessary. I would not favor the payment of a given fixed income to people unless they are not able to work. But with tax incentives for the low-income groups, we could build up the income above the poverty level and not make welfare more profitable than work.

Ford: I don't believe that Mr. Carter has been any more specific in this case than he has been on many other instances. I notice particularly that he didn't endorse the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which is included as a part of the Democratic platform. That legislation allegedly would help our unemployment.

(Continued on next page.)

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MARTELL COGNAC

Text of the Ford-Carter Debate in Philadelphia

(Continued from preceding page.) ment, but we all know that it would have controlled our economy. It would have added \$10 to \$20 billion each year in additional expenditures by the federal government. It would have called for export controls on agricultural products. In my judgment, the best way to get the jobs is to expand the private sector, where five out of six jobs today exist in our economy. We can do that by reducing federal taxes, as I proposed about a year ago when I called for tax reduction of \$28 billion, three-quarters of it to go to private taxpayers, and one-quarter to the business sector. We could add to jobs in the major metropolitan areas by a proposal I recommended that would give tax incentives to business to move into the inner city, and to expand or to build new plants so that they would take a plant or expand a plant where people are and people are currently unemployed. We could also help our youth as some of the proposals that would give to young people an opportunity to work and learn at the same time, just like we give money to young people who are going to college. Those are the kind of specifics that I think we have to discuss on these debates, and these are the kind of programs that I'll talk about in my time.

Gann: Mr. President, a would like to continue for a moment on this question of taxes that you have just raised. You have said that you favor more tax cuts for middle-income Americans, even those earning up to \$30,000 a year. That presumably would cost the Treasury quite a bit of money in lost revenue. In view of the very large budget deficits we have accumulated and that are still in prospect how is it possible to promise further tax cuts aimed to reach your goal of balancing the budget?

Ford: At the time, Mr. Gann, that I made the recommendation for a \$28 billion tax cut, three-quarters of it to go to individual taxpayers and 25 percent to American business, I said at the same time that we had to hold the lid on federal spending, that for every dollar of tax reduction we had to have an equal reduction in federal expenditures. And I recommended that the Congress have a budget ceiling of \$395 billion, and that would have permitted us to have a \$28 billion tax reduction. In my tax reduction program for middle-income taxpayers, I recommended that the Congress increase personal exemptions from \$750 per person to \$1,000 per person. That would mean, of course, that for a family of four that family would have \$1,000 more personal exemption money that they could spend for their own purposes, money that the government wouldn't have to spend, but if we kept the lid on federal spending, which I think we can with the help of the Congress, we can justify fully a \$28 billion tax reduction. In the budget that I submitted to the Congress in January of this year, I recommended a 50 percent cutback in the rate of growth of federal spending. Within the last six years the budget of the United States has grown by about 11 percent a year. We can't afford that kind of growth in federal spending. And in the budget that I recommended, we cut it in half, a growth rate of 5 to 5.5 percent. With that kind of limitation on federal spending we can fully justify the tax reductions that I have proposed. And it seems to me that with the stimulus of more money in the hands of taxpayers and with more money in the hands of business to expand, to modernize, to provide more jobs, our economy will be stimulated so that we'll get more revenue and we'll have a more prosperous economy.

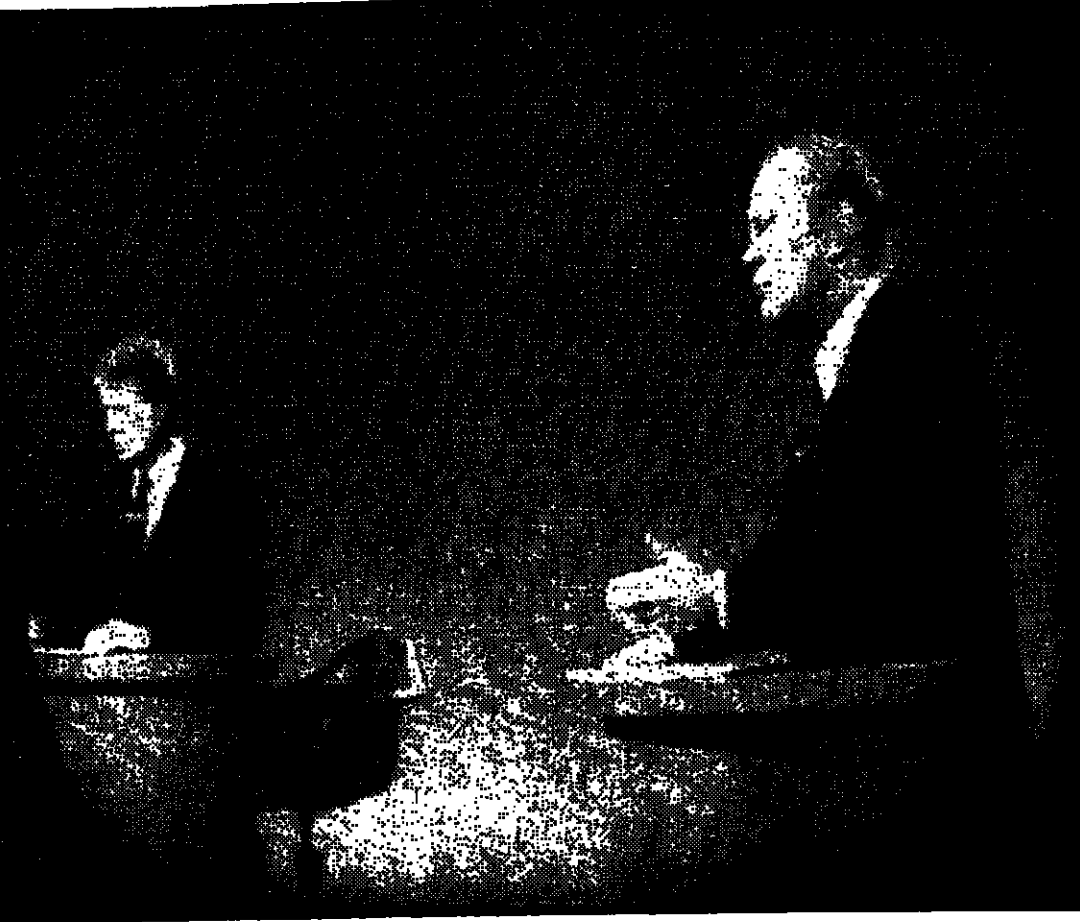
Gann: Mr. President, I follow up a moment, the Congress has passed a tax bill which — before you now which did not meet exactly the sort of outline you requested. What is your intention on that bill since it doesn't meet your requirements? Do you plan to sign that bill?

Ford: That tax bill does not entirely meet the criteria that I established. I think the Congress should have added another \$10 billion reduction in personal income taxes, including the increase in personal exemptions from \$750 to \$1,000, and Congress could have done that if the budget committees of Congress and the Congress as a whole had not increased the spending that I recommended in the budget. I'm sure you know that the resolutions passed by the Congress have added about \$17 billion in more spending by the Congress over the budget that I recommended.

So I would prefer in that tax bill to have an additional tax cut and a further limitation on federal spending. Now this tax bill that hasn't reached the White House yet but is expected in a day or two, it's about 1,500 pages. It has some good provisions in it. It has left out some that I have recommended, unfortunately. On the other hand, when you have a bill of that magnitude, with that many provisions, a president has to sit and decide if there's more good than bad and from the analysis that I've made so far it does seem to me that that tax bill does justify my signature and my approval.

Carter: Well Mr. Ford is changing considerably his previous philosophy. The present tax structure is a disgrace. It's just a welfare program for the rich. As a matter of fact, 25 percent of the total tax reductions go for only 1 percent of the richest people in this country. And over 50 percent of the tax credits go for the richest people in this country. When Mr. Ford became president in August of 1974 the first thing he did in October was to ask for a \$4.7 billion increase in taxes, and our people were in the midst of the heaviest recession since the 1940s. In January of 1975 he asked for a tax change of \$5.5 billion increase on low- and middle-income private individuals and a \$6 billion decrease on the corporations and the special interests. In December of 1975 he vetoed a roughly \$18 to \$20 billion reduction bill that had been passed by the Congress. Then he came back later on in January of this year and he did advocate a \$10 billion tax reduction, but it would be offset by a \$6 billion increase in Social Security deductions in January of this year. This coming January in deductions in Social Security payments and for unemployment compensation. The whole philosophy of the Republican party, including my opponent, has been to pile on taxes on the low income people and to take them off of the corporations. As a matter of fact, since the late '60s, when Mr. Nixon took office, we've had a reduction in the percentage of taxes paid by corporations from 30 percent down to about 20 percent. We've had an increase in taxes paid by individuals. Payroll taxes from 14 percent up to about 20 percent and this is what the Republicans have done to us. Which is why tax reform is so important.

Gann: You've proposed a number of new or enlarged programs, including jobs, health, welfare reform, child care, aid to cities, changes in Social Security and housing subsidies. You've also said you want to balance the budget by the end of your first term. Now you haven't put a price tag on this, but even if we priced it conservatively and we count for full employment by the end of your first term and we count for the economic growth that would occur during that period, there still isn't enough money to pay for those programs and balance the budget, by any estimates that I've been able to see. So in that case, what would you do?



NATIONAL DEBATE—This is how President Gerald Ford (speaking right) and Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter (speaking left) appeared Thursday evening during a telecast of their debate from Philadelphia. The views are from an NBC-TV monitor in New York City.

there would not be anything more than a surplus of \$5 billion by 1981. And conservative estimates of your programs could be that they be about \$85 to \$100 billion. So how do you say that you're going to be able to do these things and balance the budget?

Carter: Well, the assumption that you have described is different in the rate of growth of our economy.

Mrs. Drew: No, they took that into account in those figures.

Carter: I believe that it's accurate to say that the committee to whom you refer were the employment rate that you state, and with the 5 to 5.5 percent growth rate in our economy that the projections would be a \$60-billion increase in the amount of money that we have to spend in 1981 compared to now and in that framework would be to fit the improvements in the programs. Now this does not include extra control over unnecessary spending, the weeding out of obsolete or obsolescent programs. We'll have a safety version built in the executive branch of government. The whole philosophy of the Republican party, including my opponent, has been to pile on taxes on the low income people and to take them off of the corporations. As a matter of fact, since the late '60s, when Mr. Nixon took office, we've had a reduction in the percentage of taxes paid by corporations from 30 percent down to about 20 percent. We've had an increase in taxes paid by individuals. Payroll taxes from 14 percent up to about 20 percent and this is what the Republicans have done to us. Which is why tax reform is so important.

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Carter: Well, the assumption that you have described is different in the rate of growth of our economy.

Ford: The amnesty program that I recommended in Chicago in September of 1974 would give to all draft evaders and military deserters the opportunity to earn their good record back. About 14,000 to 15,000 did take advantage of that program. We gave them ample time. I am against an across-the-board pardon of draft evaders or military deserters. Now, in the case of Mr. Nixon, the reason the pardon was given was that when I took office, this country was in a very, very divided condition. There was hatred, there was distrust, people had lost faith in their government in many, many respects. Mr. Nixon resigned, and I became president. It seemed to me that if I was to adequately and effectively handle the problem of high inflation, a growing recession, the involvement of the United States still in Vietnam, that I had to give a hundred percent of my time to those two major problems. Mr. Nixon resigned in disgrace, the first president out of 35 that ever resigned from public office under pressure. So when you look at the penalty that he paid and when you analyze the requirements that I had to spend all of my time working on the economy, which was in trouble, that I inherited, working on our problems in Southeast Asia, which were still plaguing us, it seemed to me that Mr. Nixon had been penalized enough by his resignation in disgrace and the need and necessity for me to concentrate on the problems of the country fully justified the action that I took.

Reynolds: I take it then, sir, that you do not believe that it is, that you are going to recommend that we pardon those 90,000 who are still abroad. Have they not been penalized enough? Many of them have been there for years.

Ford: Well, Mr. Carter has indicated that he would give a blanket pardon to all draft evaders. I do not agree with that point of view. I gave in September of 1974 an opportunity for all draft evaders, all deserters, to come in voluntarily as an opportunity to restore their good citizenship. I think we gave them a good opportunity — I don't think we should go any further.

Carter: Well, I think it's very difficult for President Ford to explain the difference between the pardon of President Nixon and his attitude toward those who violated the draft laws. As a master of fact, I don't advocate amnesty, I advocate pardon. There's a difference, in my opinion, and in accordance with the Supreme Court and according to the definition in the dictionary. Amnesty means that you, that what you did was right. Pardon means that what you did, whether it's right or wrong, you're forgiven for it. And I do advocate a pardon for draft evaders. I think it's accurate to say that two years ago when Mr. Ford put in this amnesty, that three times as many deserters were excused as were the ones who evaded the draft. But I think that now is a time to heal our country after the Vietnam war, and I think that what the people are concerned about is not the pardon or the amnesty of those who evaded the draft but whether or not our crime system is fair. We've got a sharp distinction drawn between white-collar crime, the big shots who are rich, who are influential, very seldom go to jail. Those who are poor and who have no influence quite often are the ones who are punished. And the whole subject of crime is one that concerns our people very much. And I believe that the fairness of it is what is a major problem that addresses our leader and this is something that hasn't been addressed adequately by this administration. But I hope to have a complete responsibility on my shoulders to help bring about a fair criminal justice system and also to bring about an end to the divisiveness that has occurred in our country as a result of the Vietnam war.

Gann: Gov. Carter, you have promised a sweeping overhaul of the federal government, including a reduction in the number of government agencies you say would go down to about 300 from some 1,900. That sounds, indeed, like a very deep cut in the federal government, but isn't it a fact that you're not really talking about fewer federal employees or less government spending, but rather that you are talking about reshaping the federal government, not making it smaller?

Carter: Well, I've been through this before, Mr. Gann, as governor of Georgia. When I took over, we had a bureaucratic mess like we have in Washington now. And we had 300 agencies, departments, bureaus, commissions, some fully budgeted, some not, but all having responsibility to carry out that was in conflict. And we cut those 300 agencies and so forth down substantially. We eliminated 278 of them. We set up a simple structure of government that could be administered fairly, and it was a tremendous success. It hasn't been undone since I was there. It resulted also in the ability to reshape our court system, our prison system, our education system, our mental health programs, and the clear assignment of responsibility and authority and also to have our people once again understand and control our government.

I intend to do the same thing if I'm elected president. When I get to Washington, coming in as an outsider, one of the major responsibilities that I will have on my shoulders is the complete reorganization of the executive branch of government. We now have a greatly expanded White House staff. When Mr. Nixon went into office, for instance, we had 83 million spent on the White House staff. That has escalated now to \$60 million in the last Republican administration. This needs to be changed. We need to put the responsibilities back on the Cabinet members. We also need to have a great reduction in agencies and programs. For instance, we now have in the health care 302 different programs administered by 11 major departments and agencies, 60 other advisory commissions responsible for this. Medicare's in one agency, Medicaid's in a different one, the check on the quality of health care is in a different one. None of them are responsible for health care itself. This makes it almost impossible for us to have a good health program.

Our country now has no comprehensive energy program or policy. We have 30 different agencies in the federal government responsible for the production, the regulation, the information about energy, spread all over government. This is a gross waste of money. So tough, competent management of government, giving us a simple, efficient, purposeful and manageable government would be a great step forward. And if I'm elected, and I intend to be, it's going to be done.

Gann: Well, I'd like to press my question on the number of federal employees, whether you would really plan to reduce the over-all number or merely put them in different departments and re-label them. In your energy plan you consolidate a number of agencies into one, or you would, but does that really change the over-all?

Carter: I can't say for sure that we would have fewer federal employees when I get out of office than when I came in. It took me about three years to completely reorganizing the Georgia government. The last

year I was in office our budget was actually less than it was the year before, which showed a great improvement. Also we had a 2 percent increase in the number of employees the last year. But it was a tremendous shift from administrative jobs into the delivery of services. For instance, we completely revised our prison system. We established 94 new mental health treatment centers. And we shifted people out of administrative jobs into the field to deliver better services. The same thing would be done at the federal government level. I accomplished this with substantial reductions in employees in some departments. For instance, in the Transportation Department, we cut back about 25 percent of the total number of employees. In giving our people better mental health care, we increased the number of employees. But the efficiency of it, the simplicity of it, the ability of government and control it was the substantial benefit derived from complete reorganization. We have got to do this at the federal government level. If we don't, the bureaucratic mess is going to continue. There's no way for our people now to understand what their government is, there's no way to get the answer to a question, when you come to Washington, as a governor, to try to begin a new program for drug addicts. I found there were 13 different federal agencies that I had to go to to manage the drug treatment program. In the Georgia government, we only had one agency responsible for drug treatment. This is the kind of change that would be made. And it would be of tremendous benefit in long-range planning, in tight budgeting, saving the taxpayers money, making the government more efficient, cutting down on bureaucratic waste, having to create authority and responsibility of employees, and giving our people a better chance to understand and control the government.

Ford: I think the record should show, Mr. Newman, that the Bureau of Census, which checked it just yesterday, indicates that in the four years that Gov. Carter was governor of the state of Georgia, expenditures by the government went up over 50 percent. Employees of the government in Georgia during his term of office went up over 25 percent. And the figures also show that the bonded indebtedness of the state of Georgia during his governorship went up over 20 percent. And there was some very interesting testimony given by Gov. Carter's successor, Gov. Busby, before a Senate committee a few months ago on how he found the Medicaid program when he came into office following Gov. Carter. He testified, and these are his words, the present governor of Georgia, he says he found the Medicaid program in Georgia in shambles. Now let me talk about what we've done in the White House as far as federal employees are concerned. The first order I issued after I became president was to cut, or eliminate, the prospective 40,000 increase in federal employees that had been scheduled by my predecessor. And in the term that I've been President, some two years, we have reduced federal employment by 11,000. In the White House staff itself, when I became President, we had roughly 540 employees. We now have about 485 employees, so we've made a rather significant reduction in the number of employees in the White House staff working for the president. So I think our record of cutting back employees, plus the failure on the part of the government to put to actually have employment in Georgia, shows which is the better plan.

Mrs. Drew: Mr. President, at Vail, after the Republican convention, you announced that you had now emphasized five new areas. Among those were jobs and housing and health and improved recreational facilities for Americans, and you

also added crime. You also mentioned education. For two years you've been telling us that we couldn't do very much in these areas because we couldn't afford it. And in fact we do have a \$50 million deficit now. In rebuttal to Gov. Carter, a little bit earlier, you said that if there were to be any surplus in the next few years, you thought it should be turned back to the people in the form of tax relief. So how are you going to pay for any new initiatives in these areas you announced at Vail you were going to now stress?

Ford: Well, in the last two years, as I indicated before, we had a very tough time. We were faced with heavy inflation, over 12 percent. We were faced with substantial unemployment, but in the last 24 months, we've turned the economy around, we've brought inflation down to under 6 percent, and we have reduced employment of about 4 million in the last 17 months to the point where we have 88 million people working in America today, the most in the history of the country. The net result is we are going to have some improvement in our receipts, and I think we will have some decrease in our disbursements. We expect to have a lower deficit in fiscal year 1978. We feel that with this improvement in the economy, we feel that with more receipts and fewer disbursements, we can in a moderate way increase, as I recommended, over the next 10 years, a new parks program that would cost a billion and a half dollars, doubling our national parks system. We have recommended that in the housing program we can reduce down payments and moderate monthly payments. But that doesn't cost any more as far as the federal treasury is concerned. We feel we can do a better job in the area of crime. But that requires a tougher sentencing, mandatory certain prison sentences for those who violate our criminal laws. We believe you can revise the federal criminal code, which has not been revised in a good number of years, that doesn't cost any money. We believe that you can do something more effectively with a moderate increase in money in the drug abuse program. We feel that in education, we can have a slight increase, a major increase. It's my understanding that Gov. Carter had indicated that he approves of a \$30 billion expenditure by the federal government as far as education is concerned, at the present time, we're spending roughly \$3.5 billion, I don't know where that money would come from. But as we look at the quality of life programs, jobs, health, education, crime, recreation — we feel that as we move forward with a healthier economy we can absorb the small necessary cost that will be required.

Mrs. Drew: Sir, in the next few years would you try to reduce the deficit, would you spend money for these programs which you have just outlined, or would you, as you said earlier, return whatever surplus you got to the people in the form of tax relief?

Ford: We feel that with the programs that I have recommended, the additional \$10 billion tax cut, with the moderate increases in the quality of life areas, we can still have a balanced budget which I will submit to the Congress in January of 1978. We won't wait one year or two years longer as Gov. Carter indicates. As the economy improves, and it is improving, our gross national product this year will average about a 6 percent increase over last year. We will have a lower rate of inflation for the calendar year this year, something slightly under 6 percent, employment will be up, revenues will be up, we'll keep the lid on some of these programs that we can hold down as we have a little extra money to spend for these quality of life programs which I think are needed and necessary. Now, I cannot and would not endorse the kind of programs that Gov. Carter re-

commended. His attitude is the Democratic platform, which I read it calls for spending \$100 additional programs. He estimates that those programs would add \$108 billion in expenditures and probably \$200 billion in maximum each year to the federal budget. Those programs, you cannot afford and give no relief. We feel that you cannot hold the line and restrain federal spending, give a tax reduction, and still have a balanced budget by 1978.

Carter: Mr. Ford takes a very same attitude that the Republican always take. In the last three months before an election they always are for tax programs that they fight other years. Remember, when Hubert Hoover was against jobs for people, I was a mandatory member when Air Landon was against Social Security. And later President Nixon, 16 years ago, was telling the public that John F. Kennedy's proposal would bankrupt the country and double the cost.

The best thing to do is look at the record of Mr. Ford's first rate administration and Mr. Nixon's before him. We had last year a \$65 billion deficit, the largest deficit in the history of our country, more of a deficit spending than we had in the last eight years period, and President Johnson and President Kennedy. We've got 900 more Americans out of 300 million today than we were out of three months ago. And all the while Mr. Ford's been in office, 16 years, we've had a 50 percent increase in unemployment, a 50 percent increase in inflation, a 50 percent increase in the cost of living, a 50 percent increase in the cost of food, a 50 percent increase in the cost of housing, a 50 percent increase in the cost of clothing.

We have in this last 16 years alone a 130 billion to bank in deficit under President Ford. And at the same time we've had in the last eight years, a 50 percent increase in the number of bankruptcies for small business men, we've had a negative growth in our national economy, measured in real dollars, a 50 percent decrease in the value of the dollar in this country, it's actually a much more than it was in 1968, more than it was in real dollars. This is a thing kind of record that there's a very, very drastic change or conversion by the part of Mr. Ford at the minute is one that just does not go.

Reynolds: Gov. Carter, I like to turn to what we used to call the energy crisis. Yesterday, a British government on matter of its mission on air pollution, a total tax one headed by a nuclear physicist, a recommendation that a 1 percent increase in nuclear power be delayed in Britain 10 percent as long as possible. Now this is a subject that is quite controversial among our people and there seems to be a 1977 clear difference between you in October and the President on the use of nuclear power plants, which are people you say you would use as a 14th heavy priority. Why, Sir, would you 1940s. I say they are unsafe?

Carter: Well, one of my 55 billion persuasions in the past 16 months in been a nuclear engineer and I did graduate work in this field on it. I think I know the capabilities and the limitations of atomic power. But the energy policy of a country is one that has not yet been established by this administration. I think almost every leader of other developed nations in this world has an energy policy of \$10 billion. We have seen the Felt it would cost \$10 billion to build a nuclear power plant. In January in 1973 this was supposed security to be a temporary agency. No, it's permanent. It's enormous. The who it's growing every day. And a Republican reported not too long ago, that there are 112 public relations and to parts working for the Federal Energy Administration to try to get, since justly to the American people, Mr. Nixon's own existence.

We've got to have a firm water of to handle the energy question from 3C. The reorganization proposal about 30 that I put forth is one first step in increase in addition to that we need to have a realization that we have had 14 years of 35 years of oil left in the world. We've got to have a run out of oil. And when the oil tax is on Operation Independence, now Carter were importing about 25 percent of our oil. Now we've increased that amount 25 percent. We now import about 40 percent of our oil. We are going to trade our research and development, any effort on coal burning and on nuclear extraction that is safe for millions of years and is also clean burning. We need to shift very strong toward solar energy. And his strict conservation means. And as a last resort only, a atomic power.

I would certainly not cut atomic power altogether. I can't afford to give up that opportunity until later. But to extent we continue to use atomic power, I would be responsible as president to make sure the safety precautions were initiated and maintained. For instance, some of the have been forgotten. We need to have the reactor core at a low burn level, the entire power plant that uses atomic power tightly sealed with vacuum maintained. There ought to be a full-time presence of the power company in a control room 24 hours a day. (Continued on next page.)

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مناظرة الفورد

Text of the Ford-Carter Debate in Philadelphia

Based on preceding page, down the plant if an ab-
solutely develops.
with evacuation proce-
adequate insurance,
to be initiated. So shift
oil to coal, emphasize re-
and development on
and also on solar power.
conservation measures
not be yielded every-
that special interest
pressure the president.
this administration has
We should use atomic
only as a last resort
the strictest possible safe-
conditions. That's the
all energy policy in the
time we have to discuss

goulds: Well, Governor, on
a subject, would you
nure mandatory con-
servation efforts to try to con-
serve fuel?

arter: Yes, I would. Some
the things that can be done
is this a change in the
structure of electric power
plants. We now encourage
to waste electricity by
the lowest rates to the
users. They don't do
thing to cut down on peak
requirements. We don't
an adequate requirement
the insulation of homes, for
efficiency of automobiles.
I whenever the automobile
manufacturers come forward
say they can't meet the
is that the Congress has put
ward, this Republican ad-
ministration has waived the im-
plementation dates. In addition
that we ought to have a shift
the use of coal, particularly
the Appalachian regions,
re the coal is located. A lot
very high-quality, low-sul-
fur coal is there. It's where
employment is needed. This
did help a great deal.

o mandatory conservation
the president for people to
naturally conserve, yes. And
the private sector ought to
be encouraged to bring forward
the public benefits of ef-
ficiency. No bank in Washing-
ton, for instance, gives lower
interest loans to people who
quietly insulate their homes
I who buy efficient automo-
biles. And some major manu-
facturing companies like Dow
chemical have, through very
active efficiency mea-
sures, cut down the use of
energy by as much as 40 per
cent with the same out-
put. These kinds of things ought
to be done. They ought to be en-
couraged and supported, and
en required by the govern-
ment.

arter: Well Mr. Ford is
hanging considerably his pre-
vious philosophy. The present
tax structure is a disgrace. It's
a waste program for the
middle class. A maker of fact, 25 per
cent of the total tax deductions
for only 1 per cent of the
lowest people in this country.
And over 50 per cent of the tax
payable for the 14 per cent of
the people in this country.
Then Mr. Ford became presi-
dent in August of 1974 the first
time he did in October was to
it for a \$4.7 billion increase in
taxes, and our people were in
the midst of the heaviest econ-
omic since the 1940s. In January
1975, he asked for a tax
increase of \$5.6 billion increase
for low- and middle-income pri-
vate individuals and a \$6 bil-
lion decrease on the corpo-
rations, and the special inter-
ests. In December 1975, he
asked a roughly \$18 to \$20 bil-
lion reduction bill that had been
passed by the Congress. Then
he came back later on in
January of this year and he did
vocate a \$10 billion tax re-
duction, but it would be offset
by a \$6 billion increase this
coming January in deductions.
Social security payments
and for unemployment com-
pensation. The whole philoso-
phy of the Republican party in-
cluding my opponent, has been
pile on taxes on the low in-
come people and to take them
off the corporations. As a
matter of fact, since the late
1960s when Mr. Nixon took of-
fice, we've had a reduction in
the percentage of taxes paid by
individuals from 30 per cent
own to about 20 per cent.
We've had an increase in taxes
paid by individuals — payroll
taxes — from 14 per cent up to
18 per cent and this is what
the Republicans have done to us.
Which is why tax reform is so
important.

Ford: Gov. Carter skims over
very serious and a very
road subject. In January of
1975 I submitted to Congress
the American people the
most conservation program recom-
mended by any president. It
called for an increase in the
reduction of energy in the
United States. It called for con-
servation measures so that we

would have the energy that we
have. If you're going to in-
crease domestic oil and gas
production, and we have to
you have to give to those pro-
ducers the opportunity to de-
velop their land or their wells. I
recommended to the Congress
that we should increase coal
production in this country from
500 million tons a year to a bil-
lion 200 million tons by 1985. In
order to do that we have to im-
prove our extraction of coal
from the ground. We have to
improve our utilization of coal.
Make it more efficient. Make it
cleaner.

In my program for energy in-
dependence, we have increased,
for example, solar energy re-
search from about \$84 million a
year to about \$120 million a
year. We are going as fast as
the experts say we should. In
nuclear power we have in-
creased research and develop-
ment under the Energy Re-
search and Development Agen-
cy, very substantially to insure
that our nuclear power plants
are safer, that they are more
efficient and that we have ade-
quate safeguards. I think that
you have to have greater oil
and gas production, more nuclear
production. And in addition, you
have to have energy con-
servation.

Gannon: Mr. President, I'd
like to return for a moment to
this problem of unemployment.
You have vetoed or threatened
to veto a number of job bills
passed or in development in the
Democratic-controlled Con-
gress, yet, at the same time
the government is paying out, I
think it is \$17 billion, perhaps
\$20 billion a year in unemploy-
ment compensation caused by
the high unemployment. Why
do you think it is better to pay
out unemployment com-
pensation to idle people than to
put them to work in public
service jobs?

Ford: The bill that I vetoed
for an additional \$5 billion was
not a bill that would have
solved our unemployment prob-
lem. You have vetoed or threat-
ened to veto a number of bills
that would have made more
than 400,000 jobs would be made
available. Our analysis in-
dicates that something in the
magnitude of about 150,000 to
200,000 jobs would be made
available. Each one of those
jobs would have cost the tax-
payers \$25,000. In addition, the
jobs would not be available
right now. They would not have
materialized for about nine to
11 months. The immediate
problem that we have is to
stimulate our economy now so
that we can get rid of unem-
ployment. What we have done
is to hold the lid on spending
in an effort to reduce the rate of
inflation. We have proven, I
think, very convincingly, that
you can reduce the rate of in-
flation and increase jobs. For
example, as I have said, we
have added some four million
jobs in the last 17 months. We
have now employed 88 million
people in America, the largest
number in the history of the
United States. We've added
500,000 jobs in the last two
months. Inflation is the quick-
est way to destroy jobs and by
holding the lid on federal
spending we have been able to
do a good job, an affirmative
job on inflation and as a result
have added to the number of
jobs in this country.

I think it is also appropriate
to point out that through our
tax policies we have stimulated
added employment throughout
the country. The investment
tax credit, the tax incentives
for expansion and modern-
ization of our industrial capac-
ity, it's my opinion that the pri-
vate sector, where five out of
six jobs are, where you have
permanent jobs, where the op-
portunity for advancement is a
better place than make-work
jobs under the program recom-
mended by the Congress.

Gannon: Just to follow up,
Mr. President. The Congress
has just passed a \$3.7 billion
appropriation bill which would
provide money for the public
works jobs program that you
earlier tried to kill by your veto
of the authorization legislation.
In light of the fact that unem-
ployment again is rising, or has
in the past three months, I
wonder if you have rethought
that question at all, whether
you would consider allowing
this program to be funded or
will you veto that money bill?

Ford: Well, that bill has not
yet come down to the Oval Of-
fice, so I am not in the position
to make any judgement on it
today. But that is an extra \$4
billion that would add to the
deficit, which would add to the
inflationary pressures, which
would help to destroy jobs in
the private sector, not make
jobs where the jobs really are.
These make-work, temporary

jobs, dead-end as they are, are
not the kind of jobs that we
want for our people. I think it's
interesting to point out that in
the two years that I've been
president, I've vetoed 56 bills.
Congress has sustained 42
vetoes. As a result, we have
saved over \$8 billion in federal
expenditures. And the Congress
by overriding the bills that I
vetoed, the Congress has
added some \$13 billion to the
federal deficit. Now, Gov. Car-
ter complains about the deficit.
But he and yet he condemns the
vetoes that I have made that
have saved the taxpayers \$8
billion and could have saved an
additional \$13 billion. Now I
can't have it both ways. And,
therefore, it seems to me that
we should hold the lid as we
have to the best of our ability
so we can stimulate the private
economy and get the jobs
where the jobs are — five out
of six in this economy.

Carter: Well, Mr. Ford
doesn't seem to put into per-
spective the fact that when
500,000 more people are out of
work than there were three
months ago or we have two and
a half million more people out
of work than there were when
he took office that this touches
human beings. I was in a city
in Pennsylvania not too long
ago near here and there were
about four or five thousand
people in the audience, it was
on the train trip, and I
said how many Americans are
out of work? About a thousand
raised their hands. Mr. Ford
actually has fewer people now
in the private sector in non-
farm jobs than when he took of-
fice, and still he talks about a
success. Seven-point-nine per
cent unemployment is a terri-
ble tragedy in this country.
He says he's learned how to
manage unemployment with in-
flation. That's right. We've
got the highest inflation we've
had in 25 years right now, except
under this administration, and
that was 50 years ago. And
we've got the highest unem-
ployment we've had under Mr.
Ford's administration since the
Great Depression. This affects
human beings, and his in-
sensitivity in providing those
people a chance to work has
made this a welfare adminis-
tration and not a work adminis-
tration.

He hasn't saved 9 billion
with his vetoes. There's only
been a net saving of 4 billion,
and the cost in unemployment
compensation, welfare com-
pensation and lost revenues has
increased 23 billion in the last
two years. This is a typical at-
titude that really causes havoc
in people's lives and then is
covered over by saying that our
country just actually got a 6
per cent unemployment rate or
a 7 per cent unemployment rate
and a 7 per cent unemployment
rate and 6 per cent inflation.
It's a travesty that shows a
lack of leadership. We've never
had a president since the War
Between the States that vetoed
more bills. Mr. Ford has vetoed
four times as many bills as Mr.
Nixon, per year, and 11 of them
have been overridden. One of
his bills that was overridden, he
only got one vote in the Senate
and seven votes in the House
from Republicans. So this
shows a breakdown in lead-
ership.

Mrs. Drew: Gov. Carter, I'd
like to come back to the subject
of taxes. You have said that
you want to cut taxes for the
middle- and lower-income
groups. But unless you're will-
ing to do such things as reduce
the itemized deductions for
charitable contributions or
home mortgage payments or
interest or capital gains, you
can't really raise sufficient re-
venue to provide an over-all tax
cut of any size. So how are you
going to provide that tax relief
that you're talking about?

Carter: Well, we have such a
grossly unbalanced tax system,
as I said earlier, it is a dis-
grace. Of all the tax benefits
over 35 per cent of them go to
the one per cent of the richest
people in this country. Over 50
per cent, 53 to be exact, per
cent of the tax benefits go to
the 14 per cent richest people in
this country. We've had a 50
per cent increase in payroll de-
ductions since Mr. Nixon went
into office eight years ago. Mr.
Ford has advocated, since he's
been in office, over 5 billion in
deductions for corporations,
special interest groups and the
very, very wealthy who derive
their income not from labor but
from investments. That's got to
be changed. A few things that
can be done. We have now a
deferral system so that the
multinational corporations who
invest overseas, if they make a
million dollars in profits over-
seas, they don't have to pay
any of their taxes unless they
bring their money back into
this country. Well, they don't
pay their taxes, but the aver-
age American pays the taxes
for them. Not only that, but it
robs this country of jobs be-
cause instead of coming back

with that million dollars and
creating a shoe factory, say in
New Hampshire or Vermont, if
the company takes the money
down to Italy and builds a shoe
factory, they don't have to pay
any taxes on the money.

One other thing is a system
called DISC (Domestic Inter-
national Sales Corporation),
which was originally designed,
proposed by Mr. Nixon to en-
courage exports. This permits a
company to create a dummy
corporation to export their
products and then not to pay
the full amount of taxes on
them. This cost our government
about \$1.4 billion a year, and
when those rich corporations
don't pay that tax, the average
American taxpayer pays it for
them. Another one that is very
important is the business de-
ductions. Jet airplanes, first-
class travel, the \$50 martini
lunch. The average working
person can't take advantage of
that, but the wealthier people
can. Another system is where a
dentist can invest money in,
say, raising cattle, and can put
in \$100,000 of his own money,
borrow \$90,000 — that makes a
million — and mark off a great
amount of loss through that
procedure. There was one ex-
ample, for instance, where
somebody produced pornography
that had income tax shelter
of \$30,000 of their own money and
got \$120,000 in tax savings. Well,
these special kinds of programs
have robbed the average tax-
payer and have benefited those
who are powerful and can em-
ploy lobbyists and they can
have the CPAs and the lawyers
to help them benefit from the
roughly 8,000 pages of the tax
code. The average American
person can't do it. You can't
hire a lobbyist out of unemploy-
ment compensation checks.

Mrs. Drew: Governor, to fol-
low up on your answer. In or-
der for some kind of tax relief to
really be felt by the middle and
lower-income people, you need
about, according to congres-
sional committees on this, you
need about \$10 billion. Now you
need some things. The deferral
on foreign income is estimated,
let's say about \$600 million.
The estimate at the outside, if
you eliminated all tax shelters,
is \$5 billion. So where else
would you raise the revenue to
provide this tax relief? Would
you, in fact, do away with all
business deductions, and what
other kinds of preferences
would you do away with?

Carter: Well, I wouldn't do
away with all business deduc-
tions. I think that would be a
very serious mistake. But if
you could just do away with the
ones that are unfair, you could
lower taxes for everyone. I
would never do anything that
would increase the taxes for
those who work for a living or
who are presently required to
list all their income. What I
want to do is not to raise taxes
but to eliminate loopholes, and
this is the point of my first sta-
tements that I gave you. The
present tax benefits that have
been carved out over a long pe-
riod of years — 30 years — by
sharp tax lawyers and by lob-
bysts have benefited just the
rich. These programs that I de-
scribed to you earlier — the tax
deferrals for overseas, the
DISC and the tax shelters —
they only apply to people in the
\$50,000-a-year bracket or up.
And I think that this is the best
way to approach it, is to make
sure that everybody pays taxes
on the income that they earn
and make sure that you take
whatever savings there is from
the higher income levels and
give it to the lower and middle-
income families.

Ford: Gov. Carter's answer
tonight does not coincide with
the answer that he gave in an
interview to the Associated
Press a week or so ago. In that
interview, Gov. Carter in-
dicated that he would raise the
taxes on those in the medium
or middle-income brackets or
higher. Now if you take the me-
dium or middle-income tax-
payer, that's about \$14,000 per
person. Gov. Carter has in-
dicated publicly in an inter-
view, that he would increase
the taxes on about 50 per cent
of the working people of this
country. I think the way to get
tax equity in this country is to
give tax relief to the middle-in-
come people, who have an in-
come from roughly \$8,000 up to
\$25,000 or \$30,000. They have
been short-changed as we have
taken 10 million taxpayers off
the tax rolls in the last eight
years and as we have added to
the minimum tax provision to
make all people pay more
taxes. I believe in tax equity
for the middle-income tax-
payer, increasing the personal
exemption. Mr. Carter wants to
raise taxes for roughly half the
taxpayers of this country. The
governor has also played a
little fast and loose with the
facts about vetoes. The record
shows that President Roosevelt
vetoed on an average of 55 bills
a year. President Truman ve-
toed on the average, while he
was president, about 38 bills a

year. I understand that Gov.
Carter, when he was governor
of Georgia, vetoed between 35
and 40 bills a year. My average
in two years is 26, but in the
process of that we have saved
\$8 billion. And one final com-
ment, Gov. Carter talks about
the tax bills and all the inequi-
ties that exist in the present
law. I must remind him the
Democrats have controlled the
Congress for the last 22 years
and they wrote all the tax bills.

Reynolds: I suspect that we
could continue on this tax argu-
ment for some time, but I'd
like to move on to another
area. Mr. President, everybody
seems to be running against
Washington this year. And I'd
like to raise two coincidental
events and ask you whether
you think perhaps they have a
bearing on the attitude through-
out the country. The House
Ethics Committee has just now
ended its investigation of Daniel
Schorn, after several months
and many thousands of dollars,
trying to find out how he ob-
tained and caused to be pub-
lished a report of the Congress
that probably is the property of
the American people. At the
same time, the Senate Select
Committee on Standards and
Conduct has voted not really to
begin an investigation of a
United States senator because
of allegations against him, that
he had received money from
corporate funds illegally over a
period of years. Do you sup-
pose, Mr. President, that these
events like this contribute to the feeling in the
country that maybe there's
something wrong in Washing-
ton? And I don't mean just in
the executive branch but
throughout the whole govern-
ment.

Ford: There is a considerable
anti-Washington feeling
throughout the country, but I
think the feeling is misplaced.
In the last two years we have
restored integrity in the White
House and we've set high
standards in the executive
branch of the government. The
anti-Washington feeling, in my
opinion, ought to be focused on
the Congress of the United
States. For example, this Con-
gress very shortly will spend a
billion dollars a year for its
housekeeping, its salaries, its
expenses and the like. The next
Congress will probably be the
first billion-dollar Congress in
the history of the United States.
I don't think the American
people are getting their mon-
ey's worth from the majority
party that run this Congress.
We, in addition see that in the
last four years the number of
employees hired by the Congress
has gone up substantially, much
more than the gross national
product, much more than any
other increase throughout our
society. Congress is hiring
people by the droves, and the
cost, as a result, has gone up.
And I don't see any improve-
ment in the performance of the
Congress under the present
leadership. So it seems to me
that instead of the anti-Wash-
ington feeling being aimed at
everybody in Washington, it
seems to me that the focus
should be where the problem is,
which is the Congress of the
United States, and particularly
the majority party in the Congress.
They spend too much money on
themselves; they have too
many employees, there's some
question about their morality.
It seems to me that in this elec-
tion the focus should not be on
the executive branch but that
correction should come as the
voters vote for their members
of the House of Representatives
or for their United States sena-
tors. That's where the problem
is, and I hope there'll be some
corrective action taken, so we
can get some new leadership in
the Congress of the United
States.

Newman: President Ford,
Gov. Carter, we no longer have
enough time for two complete
sequences of questions. We only
have about six minutes left for
questions and answers. For
that reason we will drop the
follow-up questions at this
point, but each candidate will
still be able to respond to the
other's answers. To the extent
that you can, gentlemen, please
keep your remarks brief. Mr.
Gannon.

Gannon: Gov. Carter, one im-
portant part of the govern-
ment's economic policy ap-
proach that we haven't talked
about is the Federal Reserve
Board. I'd like to ask you
something about what you've
said, and that is that you be-
lieve the President ought to
have a chairman of the Federal
Reserve Board whose views are
compatible with his own. Based
on the record of the last few
years, would you say that your
views are compatible with
those of Chairman Arthur
Burns, and if not, would you

seek his resignation if you are
elected?

Carter: What I have said is
that the president ought to have
a chance to appoint the chair-
man of the Federal Reserve
Board, to have a coterminous
term, in other words both of
them serve the same four
years. The Congress can mod-
ify the supply of money by mod-
ifying the income tax laws. The
president can modify the econ-
omic structure of our country
by public statements and gen-
eral attitudes and the budget
that he proposes. The Federal
Reserve has an independent
status that ought to be pre-
served. I think that Mr. Burns
did take a typical erroneous
Republican attitude in the 1973
year when inflation was so
high. He assumed that the in-
flation rate was because of ex-
cessive demand and therefore
put into effect tight constraints
on the economy, very high in-
terest rates, which is typical
also of a Republican adminis-
tration, tried to increase the
tax payments by individuals,
out the tax payments by corpo-
rations. I would have done the
opposite. I think the problem
should have been addressed by
increasing productivity, by hav-
ing put people back to work so
they could purchase more
goods, lower interest rates on
individuals and perhaps raise
them if necessary on corpo-
rations by comparison. But Mr.
Burns in that respect made a
very serious mistake. I would
not want to destroy the inde-
pendence of the Federal Re-
serve Board, but I do think we
ought to have a cohesive econ-
omic policy, with at least the
chairman of the Federal Re-
serve Board and the president's
terms being the same, and let-
ting the Congress, of course, be
the third entity with indepen-
dent subject only to the presi-
dent's veto.

Ford: The chairman of the
Federal Reserve Board should
be independent. Fortunately he
has been during Democratic as
well as Republican adminis-
trations. As a result, in the last
two years we have had a re-
sponsible monetary policy. The
Federal Reserve Board in-
dicated that the supply of mon-
ey would be held between 4 to
4 and 7 and 7. They have
done a good job in integrating
the money supply with the fi-
scal policy of the executive and
legislative branches of the gov-
ernment. It would be catas-
trophic if the chairman of the
Federal Reserve Board became
the tool of the political party
that was in power. It's impor-
tant for our future economic se-
curity that that job be nonpoli-
tical and separate from the ex-
ecutive and the legislative
branches.

Mrs. Drew: Mr. President,
the real problem with the FBI
and in fact all of the in-
telligence agencies is there are
no real laws governing them.
Such laws as there are tend to
be vague and open-ended. Now
you have issued some executive
orders. But we've learned that
leaving these agencies to ex-
ecutive discretion and direction
can get them and in fact the
country in a great deal of
trouble. One president may be
a decent man, the next one
might not be. So what do you
think about trying to write in
some more protection by get-
ting some laws governing these
agencies?

Ford: You are familiar of
course with the fact that I am
the first president in 30 years
who has reorganized the in-
telligence agencies in the fed-
eral government. The CIA, the
Defense Intelligence Agency,
the National Security Agency
and the others. We've done that
by executive order, and I think
we've tightened it up, we've
straightened out their problems
that developed over the last
few years. It doesn't seem to
me that it's needed or necessary
to have legislation in this par-
ticular regard. I have recom-
mended to the Congress, how-
ever, I'm sure you're familiar
with this legislation that would
make it very proper in the
right way that the Attorney
General could go in and get the
right for wiretapping under se-
curity cases. This was an effort
that was made by the attorney
general and myself, working
with the Congress. But even in
this area, where I think new
legislation would be justified,
the Congress has not respon-
ded. So I feel that in that case,
as well as the reorganization of
the intelligence agencies, as
I've done, we have to do it by
executive order. And I'm glad
that we have a good director in
George Bush, we have good ex-
ecutive orders and the CIA and
the DIA and NSA are now
doing a good job under proper
supervision.

Carter: Well, one of the very
serious things that's happened
in our government in recent
years and has continued up un-
til now is the breakdown in the
trust among our people and....
(At this point the audio went
bad. When it resumed, New-
man explained:
Newman: Gov. Carter was
making his response and had
very nearly finished it. He will
conclude that response now,
after which President Ford and
Gov. Carter will make their
closing statements. Governor:
Carter: There has been too
much government secrecy and
not enough respect for the per-
sonal privacy of American citi-
zens.
Ford: On Nov. 2 all of you
will make a very important de-
cision. One of the major issues
in this campaign is trust. The
president should never promise
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a president should always de-
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On the Fourth of July we had
a wonderful 300th birthday for
our great country. It was a su-
perb occasion. It was a glorious
day. In the first century of our
nation's history our forefathers
gave us the finest form of gov-
ernment in the history of man-
kind. In the second century of
our history, our forefathers de-
veloped the most productive in-
dustrial nation in the history of
the globe. Our third century
should be the century of the faith
in individual freedom for all our 215
million Americans today and
all that join us. In the last few
years government has gotten
bigger and bigger. Industry has
gotten larger and larger. Labor
unions have gotten bigger and
bigger. And our children have
been the victims of mass edu-
cation.
We must make this next cen-
tury the century of the individ-
ual. We should never forget
that a government big enough
to give us everything we want
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take from us everything we
have. The individual worker in
the plants throughout the
United States should not be a
small cog in a big machine.
The member of a labor union
must have his rights strength-
ened and broadened. And our
children in their education
should have an opportunity to
improve themselves based on
their talents and their abilities.
My mother and father, during
the Depression, worked very
hard to give me an opportunity
to do better in our great coun-
try. Your mothers and fathers
did the same thing for you and
others. Betty and I have
worked very hard to give our
children a brighter future in
the United States, our be-
loved country. You and others
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worked hard and done a great
deal to give your children and
your grandchildren the bless-
ings of a better America. I be-
lieve we can all work together
to make the individuals have
more and all of us working to-
gether can build a better Amer-
ica.
Newman: Thank you, Presi-
dent Ford. Thank you, Gov.
Carter. And our thanks also to
the questioners and to the au-
dience in this theater.
We much regret the technical
failure that caused a 28 minute
delay in the broadcast of the
debate. We regret that it did
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its fairness. The next presiden-
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long. Gov. Carter, by the same
token of the coin, that directed
the first question to you, you
are to go first now.

Carters: Well tonight we've
had a chance to talk a lot about
the past. But I think it's time to
talk about the future. Our na-
tion in the last eight years has
been divided as never before.
It's a time for unity. It's a
time to draw ourselves togeth-
er. To have a government and a
Congress that can work togeth-
er with mutual respect for a
change. And open for a change
so that people can understand
their own government. It's time
for government, industry, la-
bor, manufacturing, agricul-
ture, education, other entities
in our society to cooperate. And
it's a time for government to
understand and to cooperate
with our people.

For a long time our Ameri-
can citizens have been ex-
cluded, sometimes misled,
sometimes have been lied to.
This is not compatible with the
purpose of our nation. I believe
in our country. It needs to be
competent. The government
needs to be well managed, ef-
ficient, economical. We need to
have a government that is sen-
sitive to our people's needs. To
those who are poor, who don't
have adequate health care, who
have been cheated too long
with our tax programs, who
have been out of jobs, whose
families have been torn apart.
We need to restore to the faith
people in their own govern-
ment. In addition to that, we've
suffered because we haven't
had leadership in this adminis-
tration. We have a government
of stalemate. We've lost the vi-
sion of what our country can
and ought to be. This is not the
America that we've known in
the past. This is not the Amer-
ica that we have to have in the
future.

I don't claim to know all the
answers, but I've got con-
fidence in my country. Our econ-
omic strength is still there.
Our system of government—
despite Vietnam, Cambodia,
CIA, Watergate — is still the
best system of government on
earth. And the greatest re-
source of all is the 215 million
Americans. We still have within
us the strength, the character,
the intelligence, the experience,
the patriotism, the idealism,
the compassion, the sense of
brotherhood on which we can
rely in the future to restore the
greatness to our country.

We ought not to be excluded
from our government any
more. We need a president who
can go in and derive his
strength from the people. I owe
the special interests nothing. I
owe everything to you, the
people of this country. And I
believe that we can bind our
w

Lights—Camera—Candidates!

The 1976 presidential debates resemble the Lincoln-Douglas debates, to which they are inevitably compared, as much as a town meeting resembles a well-run television spectacular. In 1858, the debaters, equipped only with their wits and vocal cords, reached audiences of up to 20,000, including lusty hecklers, as they spent hours rebutting each other. In 1976, the debaters setting from which they were seen and heard last night by an estimated 90 million Americans was the original Illinois version what a super-sonic jet is to the Wright Brothers' first flying machine—though the jet developed engine trouble that put the debate into a holding pattern for almost half an hour.

In the strict sense of the word, the joint appearances of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are not really debates. They are rather—as was true of the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates—an adaptation of "Meet the Press," a giant TV show of meet the people. The key characteristic of true debates, an extemporaneous give-and-take between adversaries, is barely present in these carefully premeditated and rehearsed presentations. Any points that either of the candidates may have scored last night over the other—and we shall comment later on the substance of the debates—were less likely the result of impromptu response or instant rebuttal than the recitation of carefully prepared positions.

Even with their limitations, these exposures of the presidential candidates do perform an enormously important service. They give the electorate an opportunity to see, hear and compare the men who compete for the nation's highest office. There is a world of difference between such a confrontation and the voter's day-to-day effort to absorb and digest, piecemeal and second-hand, the

reported statements, speeches, charges and countercharges.

In a country of continental size, with its vast regional differences, the view of national candidates becomes blurred and distorted as the contestants tailor their speeches to the special interests of different audiences and surroundings. In Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater Thursday night, Messrs Ford and Carter had to speak to all Americans.

The exercise is not without built-in flaws and potential dangers. The debates' inherent weakness is their show-business nature: their heavy reliance on rehearsal and grooming by professional image-makers; the concern for appearance over substance.

The more serious risk is that the mesmerizing format may bypass real issues while creating artificial but politically exploitable ones. It was in this fashion that the Kennedy-Nixon debates conjured up the false specter of a missile gap and the fictitious Quemois crisis.

Even in their flawed form, however, the Kennedy-Nixon debates allowed the U.S. people a hard, comparative look at two men. The camera's harsh eye may well be the best available tool to permit an insight into the real man under the politician's disguise.

In their paradoxical way, despite pancake makeup and electronic alchemy, the mass-audience debates shrink the nation's shield, strip the candidates of the protective shroud forged by their managers and force them to appear in millions of U.S. living rooms in something like their true colors. Character, integrity, compassion, intelligence—or lack of them—do have a way of showing through.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Taiwan's New Nuclear Pledge

Taiwan's pledge to abstain from nuclear fuel reprocessing is altogether salutary. It materially diminishes whatever possibility existed that Taiwan might be edging toward building its own nuclear bomb. For this is the specter that arose as a result of intelligence reports, leaked to this newspaper last August, that the island nation was secretly reprocessing uranium. Reprocessing spent fuel from a nuclear power reactor is one method by which a nation can acquire—conceivably in a time so short as to make international anti-nuclear proliferation "safeguards" pointless—the plutonium to make its own bomb.

Taiwan's new pledge has the further value of removing a major source of potential disruption from Taiwan-U.S. relations. It should be obvious that the mutual confidence on which the friendship of the two governments is based could hardly survive such an act of duplicity by one of them. Taiwan bristles with anxieties about the future reliability of American patronage. Presumably that is why some Taiwanese may have wanted to start down their own nuclear road. In this light, the no-reprocessing pledge is a statement of Taiwan's faith in the United States. It underlines Taiwan's dependence on Washington for its security, and it also underlines the United States' responsibility, which is currently expressed in treaty form, for the security of Taiwan. Those Americans whose principal focus is non-proliferation should understand these substantial political implications of Taiwan's new pledge.

We note with interest that, while months

of quiet American diplomacy did not succeed in extracting a non-reprocessing pledge from Taiwan, a pledge was soon forthcoming after information about its reprocessing activities was leaked. The leak had the effect, if not the purpose, of mobilizing public and congressional alarm behind the State Department's diplomacy. This is not to say that in every instance leaks have a similarly valuable impact. In respect to the Washington non-proliferation scene, however, diplomacy has been tightly centered in the State Department and conducted without much apparent vigor or urgency. In that atmosphere leaks become more likely.

Legislative spurs to diplomacy also become more likely when Congress believes, as it does, that not only its constitutional interests but its policy objectives are unappreciated "downtown." The administration finds legislation, like leaks, to be blunt weapons unsuited to the subtleties of the diplomacy of non-proliferation. It is probably right in saying this, but it should blame its own tendency to drag and push paper and mumble for contributing to the pressures that bring about leaks and laws.

In the Taiwanese instance, we would finally note, one major purpose of prospective legislation—the tightening of the 30-odd peaceful nuclear agreements the United States has with foreign countries—has been at least partially achieved. The no-reprocessing pledge amounts to a renegotiation of the U.S.-Taiwan understanding. It is a good model for similar approaches to this country's other peaceful nuclear partners.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Right to Food

Massive human problems are generally such a subliminal part of daily life that they lie uncomprehended just beyond the general consciousness. It was that way for years with the nuclear peril, with the human attacks on the earth's environment, with overpopulation—and so it still is with the problem of hunger throughout the world. Mere consciousness seems to advance in tiny increments; but no matter how small, each step in any of these fields constitutes a major contribution to mankind's efforts to construct a civilized global order.

Thus, the passage of the "right to food resolution" by the House this week, though superficially only a symbolic act, is apt to have significant substantive consequences. Two years ago, in the wake of substantial U.S. grain sales and poor harvests almost everywhere, global hunger became a major concern of governments and individuals all over the world, culminating at the World Food Conference in Rome. Since then, consciousness of the problem has declined and the focus of general attention has moved elsewhere.

But the issue is no less important now and the "right to food resolution" has the

virtue of pulling U.S. governmental attention back into focus in a number of constructive ways: it reaffirms the commitments Congress has made in a variety of statutes to feed America's hungry citizens and it stresses the importance of taking hunger and food distribution into account in the formulation of foreign policy.

The resolution calls on the administration to provide Congress with a five-year projection of aid levels. While the United States has generally approved the United Nations target of devoting an amount equal to 0.7 per cent of gross national product to aid for developing countries, this country's aid levels have declined steadily from 0.53 per cent of gross national product in 1960 to something between 0.23 and 0.27 per cent in the mid-1970s.

Those aid levels put the United States in the group of donor countries making the most limited developmental contributions. The "right to food resolution" should assist Congress to assess and improve this nation's actions to help the world's hungry feed themselves.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

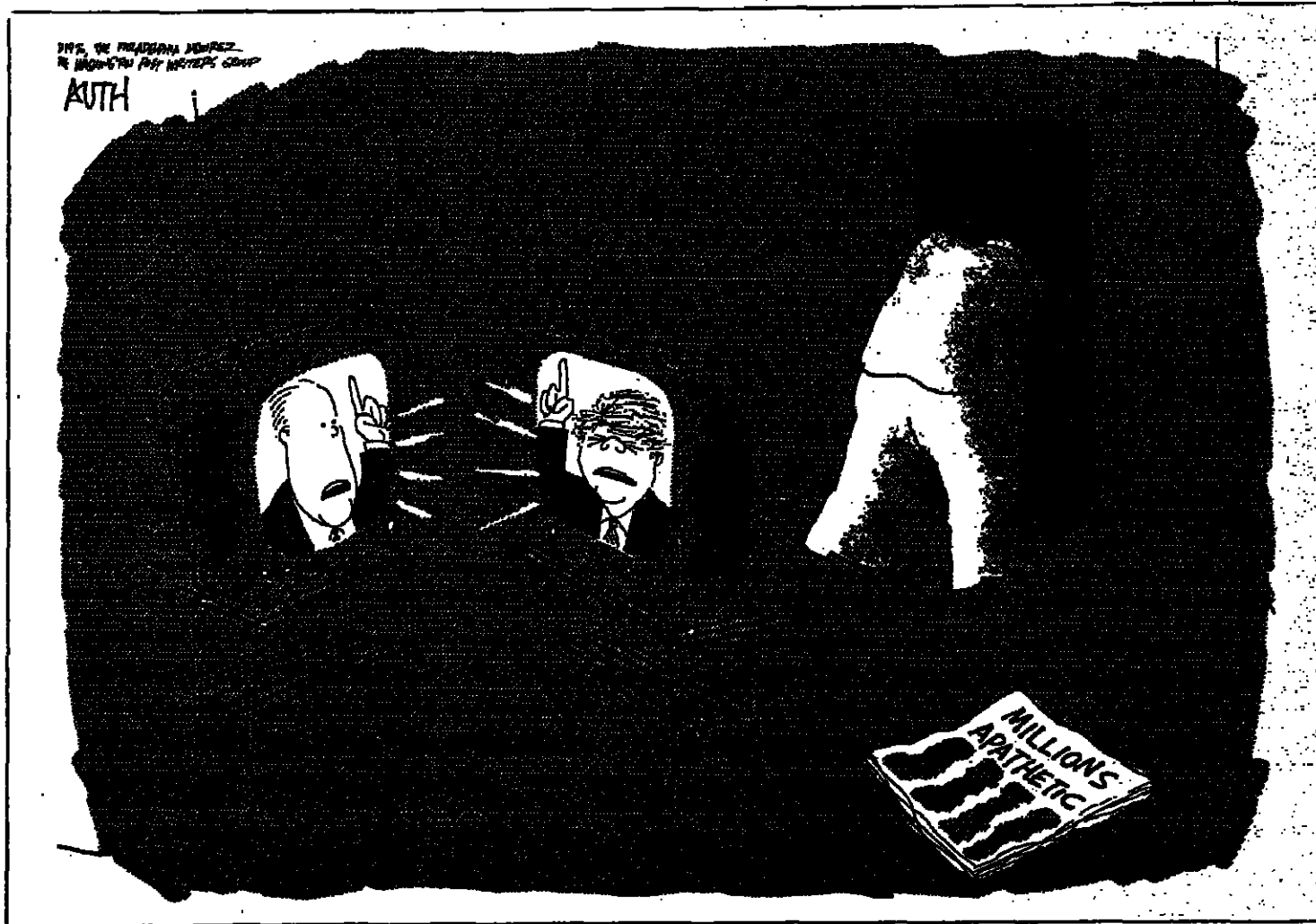
September 25, 1901

WASHINGTON—President Roosevelt installed himself at the White House last night. The Federal flag was full-masted at noon, but it was only in the evening that the President and Mrs. Roosevelt arrived. Their taking possession will not be associated with any social functions. These are entirely suspended for the present. The first public reception will probably be that of New Year's Day.

Fifty Years Ago

September 25, 1926

PHILADELPHIA—Gene Tunney, the new heavyweight champion of the world, was well rested after last night's furious battle when he beat Jack Dempsey for the crown in 10 rounds. He was unmarked except for a slight cut on the cheek. Dempsey was badly battered, six stitches were required to sew up the cuts on his face. The new champion said he is ready to give Dempsey a return match at any time.



Miss Nomer on the Debate and the Candidates

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—After somebody pulled the plug on the Ford-Carter debate, the President and the governor naturally asked for equal time to question the average U.S. voter.

Moderator (Ed Newman): Please identify yourself.

Voter: My Name is Miss Nomer. I'm an ordinary, don't know, undecided, middle-aged, middle-America concerned citizen from Chapel Hill, halfway between Grand Rapids, Mich., and Plains, Ga.

Moderator: The President and the governor have some questions but first what did you think of their debate?

Voter: Too long and too complicated.

Ford: I need your advice and anyway your vote. Do you believe in the American free enterprise system or in government regulation of business?

Free but Regulated

Voter: Both. I believe in the free enterprise system provided we regulate the hell out of it.

Carter: I'm Jimmy Carter and lately I've been running away from the presidency. The President says inflation is our main problem and I say unemployment is our main problem. What do you think?

Voter: I think it's a lousy question. If I have to choose between high prices and unemployment, I think I'll stay home in November—if I still have a home to go to.

Moderator: The President and the governor believe in democracy and have both said that they will rely on your judgment and abide by your decision. But they insist you must choose between inflation and unemployment.

Voter: Who, me?

Moderator: Yes, you.

Voter: Well, I'm sort of a practical guy and I try to be fair about these things. If big business helps me or big unions help me, or big government helps me, I'm for all of them, one at a time, but I depend.

Ford: I assume you're for a balanced budget?

Voter: I've never had one myself or seen one anywhere else, but I'm definitely for it.

Best of Everything

Carter: I assume you want us to have the best military security and Social Security in the world, clean industrial growth and the best health and welfare services.

Voter: Sure, I want us to be No. 1 in everything. Ford: How do you suggest that we do all these things and still balance the budget?

Voter: All we need is common sense. If we eliminate waste, if we get rid of the tax loopholes that benefit only the rich, if we get the losers off welfare and if we stamp out corruption, discrimination, pride, greed, booze and sex, it should be easy.

Moderator: This discussion is getting out of hand. You have to indicate how all this is to be done.

Voter: That's their problem. I'm not running for president. I'm just giving them policy guidance.

Ford: Don't you think experience in running the White House is important?

Voter: Not if it's run in the next few years as it was in the last few years.

Carter: When you compare Republican Presidents like Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Nixon and Ford with Democratic Presidents like Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson, what do you think?

Voter: I think somebody else must be saving the republic but I'm not interested in the past.

Ford: You have to admit things are getting better. The rate of inflation and unemployment are not going up as fast as they did a year or so ago.

Voter: But they're still going up.

Ford: How do you think the debate came out?

Voter: I think Georgia Tech's ahead but you were way ahead on votes.

Carter: Who do you suppose cut off the sound when I was talking?

Voter: Maybe it was Gene McCarthy or some plumber.

Moderator: OK, but what kind of president do you, as a rep-

resentative of the people, really want?

Voter: We want a strong leader who will leave us alone, a conservative innovator who can get the country going again but not too fast; somebody we know intimately but who is young and new.

Moderator: Anything else?

Voter: He should, of course, produce peace and prosperity, clean up our moral pigsty and reconcile the old Biblical virtues with the new life-styles. He should be a man of faith but conceal it. He should know all about human frailty but deny it and be recklessly candid but keep his mouth shut about abortion, busing, sex and religion.

Moderator: One final question: Who impressed you during the debate?

Voter: I thought that young woman Elizabeth Drew was pretty good.

Assessing the No-Win Debate

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON—The debate between the presidential candidates settled one matter—which is that the face-to-face televised encounters are almost surely not going to decide the presidential election.

Those affairs are too managed and previsible, too heavily encumbered in advance planning to yield a glimmer of spontaneity. The net effect has to be a no-win—which is not good news for the candidate who aspires to uplift the U.S. people.

The most telling symbol of the debate was its most striking feature—the long delay caused by the failure of the sound apparatus at the very end. That goof fully exposed a point recognized by anybody who has worked with or in television. It is that TV is a vast and complicated operation, requiring hundreds of technicians, tons of equipment and highly organized advance preparation.

Those who appear before the cameras are inevitably self-conscious. Action accordingly speaks louder than words and Lassele invariably outperforms Demosthenes. It takes a rare skill, a good deal of luck and not a little tricky editing to elicit an impromptu comment from any subject. It is significant that most of the very

best television interviewers—David Frost in Britain, for example, or Mike Wallace in this country—generally ask offbeat questions which in effect rip off the mask of self-awareness. But that approach is clearly inappropriate to debates between candidates for the White House.

The questioners were well-briefed and serious. They asked about the big subjects—inflation, taxation, unemployment, energy. Inevitably the questions are complicated and they could not have enlightened much of the U.S. public.

I found myself bored to the point of yawning and often confused. I imagine that there are a great many other Americans at least as dull-witted and poorly informed as I am in the most complex features of public affairs.

Inflation Fortress

The answers corresponded exactly with the questions. Both candidates had worked up pat positions from which they varied hardly at all.

President Ford planted his flag on the mighty fortress of defense against inflation. His administration had, as its great achievement, a simultaneous reduction

in unemployment and the price index. He had fought with the Congress to prevent excessive spending.

In the name of fighting inflation, he had been obliged to hold down expenditures for education, welfare, health and other matters. To prevent further government spending leading to even more inflation, he preferred to pass out the fruits of prosperity in individual tax cuts. He even justified the pardon of President Nixon, in part, as a means of forcing the country to focus on the true difficulties of its economic problems.

Gov. Carter came on, as so often in the past, as humanity's good angel. He cared about the unemployed and the disadvantaged. He was going to do something about the "disgraceful" tax system. He was going to make big government responsible to the needs and understanding of people. He would reduce secrecy in Washington.

Neither position is very convincing. Mr. Ford, for all kinds of ideological reasons, has refused to take strong steps against inflation. He has repeatedly missed opportunities to reduce the source of most trouble, the Interior Department.

Measured man to man, it seemed to me that Mr. Carter was the more appealing. He at least laughed occasionally. But my guess is that the impact of the debates can only be assessed against anticipations. Since President Ford paraded his sentences well, showed a grasp of the federal government and responded to questions with clarity, I suppose that he exceeded, far more than Gov. Carter, a public expectation which had rated him as only a notch or two above the home-head level.

JAN E. HENTZON.

Cagney-sur-Mer, France.

Crude Offense Seen

Re the horrible assassination of Mr. Orlando Letelier:

The opinions and remarks which you printed all tend to blame the crime on our "secret police." That is too ridiculous for words! To think that we have a "secret police" devoted to murder socialists and that the most powerful country in the world tolerates or fosters such activities is tantamount to a very crude offense to both the Chilean and the American governments.

Dr. JULIO RETAMAL FAVEREAU,

Cultural and Press Attaché,

Paris.

Simple Answer

"Carlos" has again been spotted, arriving in Belgrade last week from Algiers with a German fellow terrorist. The West German, Austrian and French as well as U.S. authorities tried in vain to have them arrested. After their departure for Baghdad, the Yugoslav authorities denied they had been there.

All over the world people ask in agony what can be done to stop the terror, how can it be that it still goes on? The answer is as simple as it is brutal—acts of terrorism and piracy would

While the effective scope for dis-

Abortions:

The Issue

For the U.S.

By William Buckley Jr.

NEW YORK—In the space of a week, from two August, Sept. 24 sources we were all advised of the stop asking the presidential candidates how they feel about abortion. James Jackson Kilpatrick was one and there is no one around whose advice, as a general rule, I'd sooner take even if it is a philosophical bludgeoned. The other is the editorial board of The New York Times, a huge magazine field magazine, full of people for whom the building compass is the wrong direction. The convergence of the two sources, at times one to maintain the propriety, at times one to maintain the propriety, at times one to maintain the propriety.

It is this, Abortion (they say, it is) is fundamentally, religiously, an issue—most conspicuously, a Catholic issue. It is a violation of the old Catholic traditional opposition to the church and state to impose upon the members of other religions what may be the views of say one religion.

Moreover, there are simply too many issues around—population, energy, crime, foreign policy, unemployment, taxation, inflation, etc.—to warrant the superordination of man's life of abortion over all others. Under the circumstances, I should add to his being a violation of the of the purposes of church-state of the it is something approaching, first important, to go about asking anyone elsewhere, and then deciding, on the basis of their answer to that or, next, Capri, question alone, how you are to make the vote. To do this is to make the maimed by what the French call a *fausse idée claire*.

Now this analysis appears to be plausible but it breaks down under scrutiny.

Ludicrous Lengths

Let us concede that abortion is a single issue can be taken in ludicrous lengths. During the 1930s and 1940s, there was doctor-prosecutor in New Haven

He asked only that one question: no other; and by that mechanism, he managed to end up belonging to something like 45 Communist in the fronts—for the simple reason that up of among the demands of the Corps, put to the members of the socialization was everything, including medical institutions. By the way, the only anti-abortionists, who asks only why anyone in a candidate's position is on about a film, it could, conceivably end up, supporting, on election day, just Canby, pacified, or a Nazi, or God help boring, us, a prohibitionist.

But allowing for the Intel, Birth of a Nation, what question is more important than whether the fetus is a human? A great moral insight is a great moral insight. It is a great moral insight. It is a great moral insight. It is a great moral insight.

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LONDON THEATER

Stoppard's 'Jumpers' In a Witty Revival

By John Walker

LONDON, Sept. 24 (IHT).—Tom Stoppard's "Jumpers," a witty revival at the National Theatre, opens with a dazzling display of acrobatics and then on to an even more vertiginous display of verbal dexterity that is exhilarating. The play turns philosophical debate into a hilarious circus turn, where Stoppard builds breathlessly complex arguments of his complexity, at another wings it all crashing down comic pratfall.

"Jumpers" at the National Theatre, has all the missing from the National's all of Noel Coward's "Hush" and none of the ponderous approach that marred its production of Ben Travers's "The Seagull."

As a comedy of a peculiarly an predicament—the collapse of absolute moral values the result of man's venture space—a giant leap back moral standards as people find that their world was no at the center of the universe, the most important events happening elsewhere.

Mr. Stoppard's slightly surreal, the British are on moon. There, Capt. Scott has ordered his colleague—Oates order to make the journey home in safety. British is late in the process of being realized, with a dictatorial party in power.

The play is, in part, a murder try though no one is in-

terested in discovering the identity of the killer; they are all too busy attempting to find their own identities in a world where nothing is fixed, where moral attitudes are regarded as the basis for academic debate rather than guides to actual behavior.

At the off-center of the play is George, a bemused and abstracted old-fashioned philosopher, first glimpsed phoning the police about the noise being made at his own party—"My name is Spinoza"—this is a pseudonymous complaint, he says.

George is desperate to prove the existence of God and goodness, a hair-splitting (and in this instance, hare-splitting) argument that is immensely funny to watch. It gains much from a brilliant performance by Michael Hordern, pulling his scraggy down around his knees as he sets enthusiastically off up one philosophical blind alley after another.

There is also fine acting from Julian Glover, as an urbanely corrupt administrator, and Bernard Gallagher as a bone-headed policeman. Where the play has lost since its original production four years ago is in the replacement of Diana Rigg, as George's showgirl wife, by Julie Covington. Miss Covington is fine so long as she is singing, but her acting is less convincing; she cannot manage the intricate rhythms of her longer speeches.

Otherwise, Peter Wood's direction is exuberantly precise as ever and Patrick Robertson's excellent set whizzes round on the Lyttelton's revolving stage to fine effect. The play remains a great source of joy, a splendidly witty, immensely theatrical work that juggles with language, truth and logic.

At the Prince of Wales Theatre.



Bernard Gallagher and Michael Hordern in 'Jumpers.'

Bernard Slade's "Same Time, Next Year" is the most mawkish Broadway comedy to reach London since "Butterflies Are Free." Any virtues this dialogue might possess are as lost in the vastness of the theater as a pimple upon an elephant.

It resembles an audacious version of "I Do, I Do" without the music, tracing through 25 years the affair of a couple who meet for one weekend a year. Fortunately, we see them at five-yearly intervals. The characters do not develop although they change in each scene for the sake of the jokes and anecdotes, many of them familiar, that Mr. Slade presents in an attempt to persuade us that he has written a play rather than an anthology of pages.

Neither Michael Crawford nor Frances Cuka sound happy with their American accents. Indeed, Mr. Crawford has adopted a high, strangled tone of voice that blunts the edge, dull though it may be, of Mr. Slade's humor.

Frances Cuka is more successful in forcing some coherence on the woman as she ages, but she cannot disguise the fact that her changes—from naïve Catholic to middle-aged hippie to successful businesswoman—are there simply to provide the opportunity for stale routines on the generation gap or self-education or marital relations.

The author's attitude to his characters varies between condescension and sentimentality. His aim, obviously successful from the play's long and continuing run in New York, is to provide reassurance to the middle-aged that the world gets better as you grow older.

Green is also selling some 18th-century Italian pictures: a good Venetian view by Michele Marzochi, a landscape by Francesco

Splendor and Respectability at Paris Fair

By Souren Melikian

PARIS, Sept. 24 (IHT).—As the eighth Biennale Internationale des Antiquaires opened yesterday at the Grand Palais, the 95 exhibitors were holding their collective breath.

The French were wondering if higher taxes, announced by the government this week, along with other austerity measures, might discourage clients. And the English exhibitors were hoping to make up for losses at home on this side of the Channel. All have made a considerable effort to meet current market demands as they see them.

The most striking characteristic is a trend to traditionally recognized values and away from anything that might require the effort of understanding.

Old Masters

In old master paintings the emphasis is on Dutch and Flemish still lifes, landscapes and genre scenes, on 18th-century French works of the more lighthearted kind, with a sprinkling of 18th-century Italian art. Some dealers have made a considerable effort to show pictures of high quality.

A particularly impressive effort is to be seen at Richard Green's stand. He brought over from London \$1.5 million in pictures. The star is a riverside landscape by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1606-1678)—at 1.1 million francs, the price is optimistic. A remarkable panel, identified in Green's illustrated brochure as a biblical scene by the Flemish master Lucas van Gassel (1480-1555), is priced at 380,000 francs. The landscape is lovely, full of symbols and allegories in the best Renaissance tradition. The subject: King David giving Uriah his message for Job in front of his palace. Among the curiosities of the work is one of the earliest representations of what must have been a kind of tennis.

Green is also selling some 18th-century Italian pictures: a good Venetian view by Michele Marzochi, a landscape by Francesco

Zuccarelli (dated Aug. 18, 1742). But there are no works by the very fine English masters for which Green is noted in London. These, he felt, wouldn't do in Paris.

In response to the English challenge, French dealers have made a real, if cautious, effort with their exhibits—"cautious" in that they are not displaying "difficult" pictures.

Taking part in the show (which remains on view to Oct. 10) for the first time is François Heim, chairman of the Heim Gallery of Paris. At his stand are pictures of a higher order than most French dealers are willing to display except on their own premises. For instance, Heim is showing a Greuze portrait of a young girl, painted about 1770-1780. This is a small masterpiece, greatly enhanced, to my mind, by its lack of the theatricality typifying Greuze's more ambitious compositions. Obviously Heim is taking this show seriously. At the same time, he has chosen works for their commercial appeal—pretty women, genre scenes. But there are no Italian primitives because "you can't have religious subjects in a place like this."

The most spectacular French effort, however, comes in the furniture category, in which the current show surpasses even the London fair at Grosvenor House. Etienne Lévy and his son, François, teamed with picture dealer Joseph Cailliet, to re-create a French salon of two decades ago when, to be chic, one had 18th-century French furniture of the highest order—or, exceptionally, top Italian furniture.

It is unusual to see at a fair pieces of such high caliber as the commode signed R.V.R.B. (standing for Bernhard Van Rensselaer Burgh, the Dutch-born cabinet-maker). The price: 1.3 million francs.

Comparable efforts come from B. Fabre et Fils. A pair of armchairs by G. Séné are of royal quality. Then, the Fabre firm is offering a pair of 18th-century

bronzes done after 17th-century Italian marbles that were in a St. Petersburg palace until 1928 when the Russians sold them in Berlin. Here and there are a few surprises—albeit conventional. Hélène Fournier, a newcomer to the trade, has a delightful display of 18th-century porcelain. Michel Lefebvre has come up with an extraordinary pair of 18th-century Delft tulipiers. These are turret-shaped structures with holes to hold tulips. Although they are extraordinarily large, they are classic in style.

No Exotics

Even dealers in Indian and Far Eastern art seemed to have steered away from the obviously exotic. Marianne Faye, another newcomer, is displaying almost classical-looking pieces such as an Indian torso in sandstone from the Gupta period (4th to 6th century) and a Chinese head from the 8th century. This Chinese work is probably one of the five or six finest works in the entire fair—a photograph of it appears in Oswald Siren's monumental book on Chinese sculpture. Janine Loo has some marvelous early Chinese figurines—an infinitely rare pair of 6th-century ivory-

gilded horsemen—and Japanese lacquer of a high order. Even Jean-Michel Beurdeley, who has an eye for the unusual, has stuck to the old standbys—an excellent Tang horse, some fine Hunan wood furniture.

The impression of respectable and traditional splendor is heightened by the British participation. Apart from Richard Green, whose stand (reportedly costing 180,000 francs) is shared by Coinah's, the exhibitors include the Koester family (Brian Koester of Duke Street and David Koester, now established in Zurich). Surprising in addition is the contribution of Cyril Humphreys, who is in Paris for the first time with, among other exhibits, a blue and white bowl in the kind of experimental porcelain commissioned by the Medicis in the late 16th century—only a few examples have survived. The bowl (13 centimeters in diameter) is priced at "about a quarter of a million dollars." The figure is colossal and reflects the price scales of brighter, more prosperous days. But the fact that objects of this order have been brought to Paris proves how earnest the English are in their attempts to make a dent in the Continental market.

PARIS GALLERIES

America Seen by Europe, Grand Palais, Avenue de Selles, Paris 8, to Jan. 2.

This vast, fascinating and intelligently commented exhibition (IHT, Dec. 11, '75) provides a splendidly documented narrative of the way Europe, from the outset, responded to the very existence of "another world." Early in the 16th century begin the scrupulous attempts at ethnological, zoological and botanical description, and this careful work has always found its counterpart in the fantasies provoked by all aspects of the new continent: the virgin land ("Nature"), the wealth, the Indians, the black slaves, democracy. Distance itself seems to have magnified both the qualities and the faults of whatever came forth on the American continent. Over 300 objects, paintings and documents and an excellent catalogue trace the changing view of America to be found in European arts, science and letters from the 16th century to the middle of the 19th.

George Grosz, Galerie Octave Negru, 23 Rue de Seine, Paris 6, to Oct. 8.

Sixty-seven drawings and watercolors, mostly of the German scene, but some dating from the outset of long periods during which Grosz lived in America, give a varied idea of his outstanding talent. Going beyond his sometimes rather flat satire which expresses his durable and intense loathing of the "Gly German" of either sex, one can discover a technical diversity of means that is always made to serve the artist's expressionistic intention and which is really admirable. Berlin in the twenties lies dissected and bitterly alive in his art.

Ricardo Stern, Goethe Institut, 17 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris 16, to Oct. 15.

This is the first Paris show of a young artist (b. 1951) who appears able, promising and ambitious. At his best he shows a quality of luminous monumentality that is apparent mainly in his most recent paintings. A certain traditional Jewish iconography is present but it is used as a narrative element along with

others and not in a traditionally religious sense. The content reflects the painter's need to deal with "man's fate"—at 25 he has begun to do so with an incipient forcefulness that can be seen emerging out of his earlier, sometimes formalist, sometimes sentimental, ventures.

Pierre Ometkowski, Galerie de Seine, 18 Rue de Seine, Paris 6, to Oct. 15.

Ometkowski, who was born in Yugoslavia in 1928, has gone through various manners before coming to his present one. He prefers rather large formats which he covers with purposeful, broad brushstrokes. His manner is expressionistic and he conveys a certain ominous mood by the vagueness of his image, so that his work is sometimes reminiscent of the sequence of imprecise pictures psychologists use for a diagnostic purpose and which is referred to as the thematic apperception test. A passing carpenter, a running nude woman, two men up on scaffolding looking down on a great rambling city—and what are those black, ant-like things massed together in the street below? Obviously, French riot police.

—MICHAEL GIBSON.



MARC CHAGALL, Gouache 1959
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MUSIC IN FRANCE

A Film Portrait of Chopin By the Pianist Byron Janis

By David Stevens

PARIS, Sept. 24 (IHT).—The American pianist Byron Janis, whose associations with Chopin range from being an interpreter of his music to the discoverer of important manuscripts of the composer, is the principal performer of a one-hour film on the composer's life that will be shown publicly for the first time Monday night on French television.

The film falls somewhere between a documentary and a kind of personal and musical portrait of the composer by the pianist, whose interest in Chopin's life is extraordinary—even for a pianist—and who says he feels "close to Chopin, not only as a musician, but as a person."

Musically, the film is of more than ordinary interest because Janis, at the keyboard, demonstrates some of the substantial

differences between published and different manuscript versions of two waltzes, those in G flat major (Op. 70, No. 1) and in E flat major (Grande Valse Brillante, Op. 19). In 1967, Janis discovered the first known manuscript copy of the G flat, along with one of the E flat, at the Chateau de Thoiry, west of Paris. In 1973, by a coincidence so incredible "I was afraid no one would believe me," a casual browse through some old music at the Yale University library turned up different manuscript copies of the same two waltzes. The discoveries twice forced revisions of the date of composition of the G flat, and in both cases turned up variants in notes, rhythms, dynamics and even mood, all testifying to Chopin's meticulous, self-critical working habits.

Comments

Janis offers illuminating comments on these and other musical matters, including Chopin's exercises and piano technique, and personal observations on the composer as the film moves from one Chopin shrine to another.

At Zelazowa-Wola, Chopin's birthplace near Warsaw, and in the park in Warsaw that has a statue of the composer, Janis is filmed during traditional every-Sunday concerts. At the monastery where Chopin and George Sand stayed during their ghastly

sojourn in Mallorca, he plays on the composer's own piano—now a comically out-of-tune relic—some of the music that was created on it. There also is a visit to George Sand's house at Nohant.

During the filming, in June and July, 1975, Janis was accompanied by his wife, Maria, daughter of the actor Gary Cooper, who appears briefly in the film and contributed sketches used in it.

Chopin discoveries continue for the pianist. A few months ago a hitherto unknown letter by George Sand, written after Cho-

poin's death, was brought to his attention. In it, Sand writes of the composer that "I have never known a more aesthetic poet or a more poetic atheist," and "He believed he believed in a sort of divinity and in a fantastic immortality; essentially it was just the waves of genius."

The film, directed by Adrien Maben and filmed in 35 mm. and color, will be shown Monday at 9:55 p.m. on Antenne 2. Seen at a cinema screening this week, its multitrack sound came over splendidly and some of the trick

photography of Janis's hands in action was of more cinematic than musical interest. But both of these aspects are likely to be diminished on the small box. The film is in English, with French voice-over.

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N. America, Europe May Have Been Linked

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 (AP).—Scientists say they have the first fossil evidence indicating a land bridge once spanned the Atlantic between North America and Europe.

Fossils of mammals, birds and other animals found this summer on Ellesmere Island in Canada, above the Arctic Circle west of Greenland, match similar remains found in Western Europe and the western United States, they said.

Dr. Robert West of the Milwaukee Public Museum in Wisconsin and Dr. Mary Dawson of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh, Pa., discussed the findings Wednesday at a scientific meeting in Montpellier, France. The announcement was made by the National Geographic Society in Washington, which supported the expedition.

The scientists said fossil similarities on the two continents traditionally have been explained

as evidence that animals came to North America via Asia and a land bridge across the Bering Sea.

But more recent geological evidence leads some scientists to believe that the North American and European continents once were joined, gradually splitting apart with the Atlantic forming between them.

Dr. West and Dr. Dawson said their findings go a long way to prove that theory is correct.

The last continental connection probably stretched between the northernmost tips of the continents by way of Greenland, Iceland and Spitsbergen, an island north of Scandinavia, they said. It probably split apart 45 million to 48 million years ago.

The scientists said the connected-continent theory would get stronger support if similar fossils eventually are found in Greenland, Iceland and Spitsbergen.

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